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THE HIGHER CRITICISM
AND THE BIBLE.

THE
HIGHER CRITICISM
AND
THE BIBLE.

A MANUAL FOR STUDENTS.

BY
WILLIAM B. BOYCE,
WESLEYAN MINISTER.

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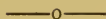
THIS VOLUME
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

WITH SINCERE REGARD,

BY HIS OLD FRIEND

WILLIAM B. BOYCE.

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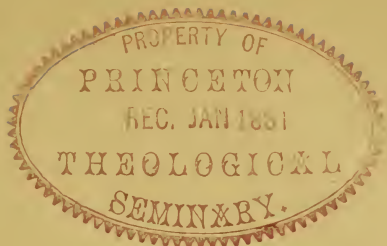
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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY—TWO SCHOOLS OF CRITICISM—THE CANON AND THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. THE controversy between the Sceptics and the Orthodox in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was generally conducted in accordance with the usages of the old historical evidential criticism, of which the characteristic trait is dependence upon accredited human testimony, as being the most satisfactory of all evidence. With this school of critics, internal evidence had a subordinate place, rarely if ever to be received in opposition to direct testimony. The exemplification of these safe critical principles is obvious in the writings of our Lardners, and Paleys, and Whatelys. So we, on the ground mainly of the testimony of our Lord and His Apostles, receive the books of the Old Testament as genuine and authentic. Other reasons cogent and weighty are adducible in defence of our belief, but we feel that the testimony of credible witnesses is the surest ground upon which we can take our firm stand in the conflict with the Scepticism of our age.

The Two
Schools of
Biblical
Criticism.

The Old
Evidential
School.

2.* But it may be said, that the wider and continually enlarging mental horizon, and the consequent higher standing point of the culture of our day, have changed altogether the position of the controversy, and that owing to the more extensive fields opened to investigation, together with the more varied learning and more

minute research of the present century, our science, our philosophy, and our literature have already been revolutionised. Why then should we be satisfied with the proofs accepted by the men of the seventeenth and following century, who were placed in a less favourable position than we are for the thorough inquiry which the subject demands? Admitting the truth in these remarks, so far as they apply to some of the writings of the apologists of that period, we still object to their relevancy in reference to the case of well-attested *facts*: these can only be affected by a disproof of the testimony on which they rest. Take, for instance, the one great fact, which is the historical foundation of revealed religion, the fact that, "*God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past to the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son*" (Heb. i. 1, 2). Sceptics must disprove the record of the life, character, death and resurrection of Christ; short of this, all their arguments carry no conviction to the believers in Christianity. We admit that this historical evidence represents no more than the highest degree of probability, which we term moral certainty: and that this is not exactly equivalent to the absolute proof afforded by mathematical demonstration. But as this species of proof is confined to the sphere of pure mathematics, and as on all other subjects mankind are satisfied to take probability as "the very guide of life," we must acquiesce in the only proof of which *the facts* of revelation are susceptible. To ask for more is unreasonable. The evidences are sufficient for all who sincerely desire to satisfy honest doubt, but there is full scope left for the cavils of those who cultivate doubt as an intellectual grace, or believe it to be a necessary result of scientific research. This class would not be "*persuaded though*

one rose from the dead" (Luke xvi. 31). They would regard a miracle as simply a new aspect of nature. To this class of doubters, we may use the remonstrance addressed by Zophar more than 3,000 years ago: "*Canst thou by searching find out God*"? (Job xi. 7). This knowledge is not the reward of research, for it does not admit of scientific proof. It is the revelation of a Spiritual fact, which at once commends itself to the Spiritual nature of man, which is desirous of discovering not a philosophical abstraction, but of realising *a personal God*. These Spiritual yearnings are graphically expressed in the language of the Psalmist, "*My soul thirsteth for God*, for the LIVING God. *My heart and my flesh crieth out for the LIVING God*" (Psalms xlii. & lxxxiv.). No question affecting man's faith and duty as a spiritual, rational and moral agent can be settled by an infallible logic. It is determined mainly by the ruling sympathies. The decision is with the *will*, the responsible *will*. No sincere inquirer is left without Divine help. Our Saviour gives us the law of this Spiritual administration. "*If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God*" (John vii. 17).

3. A large number of the Biblical scholars of Germany, dissatisfied with the limitation imposed by the requirement of historical testimony in proof of critical conclusions, have chosen to conduct their inquiries for the most part on other lines. They have created and perfected what is generally called "the Higher Criticism." It certainly has a fair claim to that title, for it assumes on the part of the critic the possession of an intuitive power of perception, and discrimination, the possibility of which is denied by the learned generally. One leading peculiarity of this criticism, is the reliance upon internal evidence, supplemented by conjectural

The
Higher
Criticism.

assumptions to an extent which practically ignores external testimony. This characteristic subjectivity of the Higher Criticism is logically its weak point, as it rests the results of inquiry more upon the consciousness of the individual critic than upon the evidence of facts, the jury and the witnesses being secondary to the judge. But on the other hand the freedom from the wholesome restraints of the older school of criticism, is one main source of the power of the new school to excite and interest the literary mind of the age. It has put forth, as discoveries, a series of startling theories differing and even contradictory in their principles and facts, and agreeing only in their direct opposition to the generally received opinions of the Churches. Occupying thus the position of a Revolutionary and destructive force, this delusive but fascinating criticism overleaped all the time-honoured landmarks which the learning and experience of the past had prescribed as the necessary limits to the range of rational critical investigation: but in due time the wild extravagances of the more advanced disciples of the higher school naturally called forth a considerable reaction, even in Germany itself. When, step by step, these learned scholars having in their opinion demolished the traditionary belief in the antiquity and unity of the books of Moses, and in the foreknowledge of the Prophets, proceeded to declare the most important and hitherto undoubted documents which form the whole framework of the Jewish dispensation to be little less than "forgeries" or "pious frauds"—then the most careless of nominal Christians were roused from their indifference, and led to inquire, "Are these things so?" Most Christians felt that there was an intimate connection between the verity of the Old Testament and that of the New—more intimate by far than criticism of itself can

Extreme
views of
the critics.

perceive. There are, indeed, critics who wish to emancipate Christianity from all connection with Judaism; but the Christian consciousness, aware of the obvious results of such an experiment, is not disposed to place the Christian Church in the position of Mary weeping at the sepulchre, and crying, "*They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him*" (John xx. 13). With this feeling a large portion of the Christian readers interested in Biblical studies sympathise. Disappointed with the unsatisfactory results of the conjectural criticism, they are now not so anxious to learn what may be imagined, as what can be proved. The present work is an attempt to select from all sources a series of facts, exhibiting briefly, yet comprehensively, the controversies arising out of the conclusions of the Higher Criticism in its application to the books of the Old and New Testament. Such a compilation may be useful to the educated youth of our Churches, as introductory to the study of the Biblical questions of the present century especially: for those who desire a fuller and more minute acquaintance with the great points at issue in these discussions, the most important and available helps will be found in the various English and Continental authorities quoted, or referred to, in the following pages.

Object of
the pre-
sent work.

4. Let it be clearly understood that nothing in these pages is to be considered as depreciatory to the character of the so-called "Rationalistic" critics themselves. We shall have occasion to remark upon the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of the period in which these great scholars lived and were trained: a period in which the notion of a supernatural revelation, evidenced by miraculous interpositions, was at once dismissed as impossible and therefore incredible. This was their stand-

Sceptical
standpoint
of the
Higher
Critics
generally.

point, under the influence of which they thought and wrote. Our standpoint and the influences under which we live are widely different. While therefore gratefully acknowledging their profound learning, by which all the Churches have more or less benefited, their indomitable unwearied industry, and also their undoubted honesty, as beyond all question, we may yet in the exercise of our independent judgment presume to differ from their premises and from their conclusions. The old proverb that "it is possible not to see the wood for the trees" is pregnant with a meaning applicable to the case of these great critics; their voluminous and varied learning helps not unfrequently to darken the light. Common sense has its uses even in the consideration of the complications of Biblical Criticism. We may urge as our apology for our dissent from some of the dicta of so many of the learned of Germany and elsewhere, that there are strong reasonable grounds for objection to the principles upon which the Higher Criticism proceeds in its investigation, as well as to the conclusions at which it arrives; and that our opposition is justified by the judgment of competent critical authorities, of which we give the following as a specimen:—

Opposers
of the
Higher
Criticism.

5. We shall commence the list with—

"British
Quarterly"

(1) The "British Quarterly,"¹ the organ of the Congregationalists, a journal commenced in 1845, by the late Dr. Vaughan, well known as Professor of History in the London University, and author of several historical works valued for their liberal and original views. He was one of the first to introduce to English readers the ever-changing phases of German Philosophy, Theology, and Criticism. The Review under the editorship of Dr. Allon, maintains its well-earned position as the first

¹ July, 1846, Vol. III. p. 134.

of liberal, and yet Orthodox Reviews. "The advocates of this system assume that their knowledge of Scriptural language, and other facts of early Oriental history is so complete, that they can decide with little hesitancy and with absolute certainty on the genuineness or otherwise of any passage in the Old or New Testament, on internal evidence alone, so as to overpower all the authority of external proof." And again, "the subjective criticism is the most treacherous of all methods."¹

(2) The Rev. H. H. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's, well known as a very advanced Biblical Critic, commonly considered to be of the Rationalistic School (and who on this ground was forty years ago severely handled by his Orthodox contemporaries), makes the following remarks in the preface to the new edition of his "History of the Jews:"² "I must acknowledge as regards the modern German School of Criticism, profane as well as sacred, that my difficulty is more often with their dogmatism, than with their daring criticism. If they destroy dominant theories they rarely do not endeavour to compensate for this by constructing theories of their own, I must say in general on the most arbitrary conjectures, and assert these theories, with as much certitude and even intolerance as the most orthodox and conservative writers." Again, referring to Ewald's "*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*," Milman remarks upon his, *i.e.* Ewald's, "dogmatism," "contemptuous arrogance," and "assumed autocracy," in the field of criticism, and then proceeds to the special point under consideration. "That the Hebrew records, especially the Books of Moses, may have been compiled from various documents, and it may be at an uncertain time, all this is assuredly a legitimate subject of inquiry. There may be some certain dis-

Dean
Milman.

¹ Vol. LXVI. p. 569.

² Vol. I. 8vo, p. xxiii., &c. 1863.

cernible marks and signs of difference in age and authorship. But that any critical microscope in the nineteenth century can be so exquisite and so powerful as to dissect the whole with perfect nicety, to decompose it, and assign each separate paragraph to its special origin in three, four or five, or more independent documents, each of which has contributed its part: this seems to me a task which no mastery of the Hebrew language with all its kindred tongues, no discernment however fine and discriminating can achieve."

Dr. Pusey. (3) Dr. Pusey, a divine of a very different school, but of whose learning and critical power there can be no difference of opinion, in his Introduction to his Commentary on Zechariah,¹ referring to the Sceptical School of Germany, remarks:—"It is an infelicity of the modern German mind, that it is acute in observing detailed differences rather than comprehensive in grasping deeper resemblances. It has been more busied in discovering what is new, than in observing the ground of what is true. It does not, somehow, acquire the power of balancing evidence, which is habitual to the practical minds of our own countrymen. To take an instance of Criticism, apart from Theology, the genuineness of a work of Plato. 'The genuineness of the Laws,' says their recent translator (Professor Jowett) 'is sufficiently proved (1) by more than twenty citations of them in the writings of Aristotle' (whom Plato designated "the intellect of the School," and who must have been intimate with him for some seventeen years, from B.C. 364 to 347), 'who was residing at Athens during the last years of the life of Plato, and who returned to Athens at the time when he was himself writing his Politics and Constitution. (2) By the allusion of Isocrates, writing

¹ "Minor Prophets," pp. 510, 511.

B.C. 346, a year after the death of Plato, and not more than two or three years after the Composition of the Laws. (3) By the reference of the comic poet Alexis, a younger contemporary of Plato, B.C. 356. (4) By the unanimous voice of later Antiquity, and the absence of any suspicion among ancient writers worth noticing.¹ Yet German acuteness has found out reasons why the treatise should not be Plato's. These reasons are plausible, as most untrue things are; as put together carefully by one who yet attaches no weight to them, they look like a parody of the argument produced by Germans to take to pieces books of Holy Scripture. *Mutatis mutandis*, they have such an absurd, ludicrous resemblance, that it provokes a smile. Some fifty years ago, there was a tradition at Göttingen, where Heyne had lived, that he attributed the non-reception of the theories as to Homer, in England, to the English Bishops, who 'apprehended that the same principle would be applied to Holy Scripture.' Now for half a century more, both sets of Critics have had full scope. The classical sceptics seem to me to have the advantage. Any one who knew but a little of the uncritical criticism applied to the sacred books, could imagine what a jubilee of triumph it would have occasioned, could such differences as those pointed out between 'the Laws' and other treatises of Plato, have been pointed out to detach any book of Holy Scripture from its traditional writer. Yet it is held inadequate by one, of whom an admirer said that 'his peculiar mode of Criticism cut the very sinews of belief.'² I insert the criticisms (omitting the details of illustration) because their failure may open the eyes of some to the utter

¹ Jowett's "Dialogues of Plato,"
T. IV. p. 1.

² "Pall Mall Gazette," 28th
March, 1868.

valuelessness of this sort of criticism. The accuracy of the criticism is not questioned; the statements are not said to be exaggerated: yet they are held invalid. The question then comes with great force to the conscience: 'Why, rejecting arguments so forcible as to a treatise of Plato, do I accept arguments very inferior, as to such or such a book of the Old or New Testament, certain chapters of Isaiah, or Ecclesiastes, or these chapters of Zechariah, or the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the Revelation of St. John the Divine—except on grounds of Theology not of Criticism; and how am I true to myself in rejecting such arguments as to human books, and accepting them as to Divine books?'” Never was the case more fully or fairly stated between Historical Criticism and the Higher Criticism. We have not quoted the criticisms referred to (against the Laws), but they may be found in Professor Jowett's "Introduction to the Laws of Plato,"¹ or in the margin of Dr. Pusey's "Minor Prophets."²

Canon
Rawlinson

(4) Rev. Canon Rawlinson (in his remarks on Chronicles) shows the unsatisfactory character of Internal Evidence, except under certain conditions: "Internal evidence, where there is an abundant literature, when a language can be traced from stage to stage, and where each stage has been thoroughly mastered by the critic, is no doubt a very sufficient guide: but where the literature is scanty, where all its stages are not known, where the critic is but half-master of the language in any stage, nothing is more doubtful and untrustworthy. . . . In cases where such extreme diversity prevails among those who make internal evidence their guide, it seems to be justifiable to fall back, tentatively at any rate, upon the external evidence, and

¹ T. IV. pp. 11—16.

² Pp. 510, 511.

Secondly : The bilingual inscription on the Maltese stone said to be Greek and Phœnician, and of the supposed date the 85th Olympiad (436 B.C.), believed by Gesenius and others to be genuine, but proved by Koppe to be a forgery.

Thirdly : The dogmatic conclusions of F. A. Wolf and other critics of his school, respecting certain writings of Cicero, of Homer, Herodotus, Plato, Thucydides, Arrian, &c., deemed by them to be spurious, but successfully vindicated by Weiske and others.

Fourthly : The case of Walter Scott and the ballad, the "Raid of Featherstonhaugh," which he deemed genuine, and published as such, though it was the work of a contemporary.

Lastly : The controversy in 1868 in the "Times" respecting the authorship of a poem attributed to Milton. If educated Englishmen found it difficult to decide the point disputed, in respect to a writing only 200 years old, and in their own tongue, our faith in the ability of any class of scholars to decide from internal evidence on the authorship of the Pentateuch, and other books written in Hebrew 3,300 years ago, must be shaken.

The
Canon of
the Old
Testament

6. The character and authority of the books of the Old Testament being the main point to be considered, it is desirable to state briefly the views held by the Christian Churches on the CANON, the TEXT, and other matters connected with the criticism of the Text.

(1) The correspondence of the English translation of the Old Testament with the Hebrew original. There is at first sight an apparent diversity in the number of the books, or distinct treatises of which the Bible is composed, as presented in the Hebrew and English Bibles, but this is merely a diversity of arrangement, the twenty-

two books of the Hebrew corresponding exactly in their contents to the thirty-nine of the English Bible. The Hebrew arrangement was made by the Editors to correspond with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, and in order to effect this, the book of Ruth was included in Judges, the two books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, were reckoned as one each. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah were included as one, the twelve Minor Prophets were considered as one, so also Jeremiah and the Lamentations. These were the Jewish Canonical books, that is to say the books which the Canon or authoritative rule of the Jewish Church recognised as the Sacred books, and in that respect distinguished from all others. Of these books our English Bible is the honest representative. As Christians we are interested in the identifying of the Hebrew Bible in our present recension, with "the Scriptures" received by the Jewish Church and people eighteen centuries ago, and recognised as such by our Lord and His Apostles. This brings us to the question of (1) the Jewish Canon, and the general testimony as to the books it embraced, and the authority under which it was formed; and (2) to the important matter of the Hebrew Verity, as it was called by the old divines, or in other words the condition of the present text of the Hebrew Bible; and this preliminary information is absolutely necessary in our Biblical inquiries.

(2) The Jewish Canon. That "God—at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets" (see Hebrews i. 1), and that the records of these revelations have been preserved in a collection of writings, classified and generally known and quoted as the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, was the universal opinion of the ancient Jewish Church

and people at the beginning of the Christian era, and for some centuries previous, of which the following testimonies are satisfactory evidence :—

(a) Jesus the son of Sirach, who is supposed to have lived B.C. 247—226, or later, 169—131, B.C., in his “Prologue” to the Book of “Ecclesiasticus,” refers to “the Law and the Prophets and other books of our fathers:” the former date is undoubtedly the correct one.¹

(b) Philo-Judæus, the Philosophical Jew, B.C. 20, A.D. 40, in his treatise on the “contemplative life,” as practised by the Therapeutæ, or Essenes, refers to their possession and constant use of “the laws and oracles predicted by the Prophets, and hymns and other (writings), by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected.”

(c) Josephus, the warrior and historian, A.D. 38—97, in his learned treatise against Apion, the most valuable of his writings (Book I. chap. viii.), alludes to this classification of the sacred books, and bears witness to the identity of the then Canon of the Jewish Scripture with our own, by the details he gives, which are as follows: “We have only twenty-two books which are believed to be of Divine authority, of which *five* are the books of Moses. From the death of Moses to the end of the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes the King of Persia, the prophets who were the successors of Moses have written thirteen books: the remaining *four* books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men.” Of these twenty-two books Josephus remarks, that “during so many ages no one has been so bold as either to add anything to them, to take anything from them, or to make any change in them: but it became natural to all

¹ Pusey’s “Daniel,” pp. 297— of the Old Testament,” pp. 17, 305. Stanley Leathes’ “Structure 18.

Jews from their birth to esteem these books to contain Divine doctrines, and to persist in them; and, if occasion arise, be willing to die for them." This evidence of the Jewish scholar and statesman appears indisputable as to the Old Testament Canon. Josephus gives here the opinions of the Pharisaic party as well as his own. The popular belief that the Sadducees rejected all the books of the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch, is erroneous.

(d) In the Evangelists and in the Epistles, our Lord and His Apostles quote from "*The Law of Moses, and the Prophets and the Psalms*" (Luke xxiv. 44), more frequently using the shorter formula, "*The Law and the Prophets*" (Romans iii. 21). In this threefold classification all the Canonical books were included. (1) THE LAW—the whole five books of Moses, the Pentateuch. (2) THE PROPHETS—all the historical books from Joshua to 2 Kings—the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, with the twelve Minor Prophets. (3) THE PSALMS, being the first in order in the *Ketubim* (i.e. the writings), gives the name to the entire collection which comprised the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles. To this third portion the term *Hagiographa* (Sacred Writings) is often applied.

(e) The time when, and the authority upon which we depend for the Canon of the Old Testament, may be safely inferred from the statement of Josephus, that the sacred books were twenty-two in number, all completed "before the end of the reign of Artaxerxes" (424 B.C.), and that since then "no one has dared to add to them." The Canon then must have been formed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, a period in fact confirmed by tradi-

tion, and by the general opinion of the Jewish Rabbis as contained in one of the oldest treatises preserved in the Talmud.

(*f*) At that time three inspired prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, were living, the latter being far later than the two former. It is more than probable that by their assistance and recognised authority as Prophets, *i.e.*, Teachers inspired, the sacred books of the Ancient Scriptures were collected and re-edited. At no other time since, and by no other authority, could such an important work have been accomplished, and on no other supposition can we understand how it was that this Canon of the Old Testament was universally received by the Jewish Church and people. Some, as De Wette, think that the present Canon included the whole of Jewish literature then extant: but Josephus refers to other books; and in the books of the Old Testament there are reference to fifteen books, sometimes as authorities for historical facts, or referred to for further information. These were no doubt in existence at the time when the Canon was formed, from Ezra, 420, down to Simon the Just, 300 B.C. It does not seem possible that any books written later than the time of Malachi could have been admitted into the Canon, as no writing was accepted as Divine, which had not the sanction of a prophet, known to be an inspired authority. According to Josephus, no such prophet had been known since the days of Nehemiah. This is confirmed by Philo, Jesus the son of Sirach,¹ and by the author of the Book of Maccabees.²

(*g*) Jewish traditions preserved in the Talmud, and probably of so early a date as 200 B.C., which carry

¹ Ecclesiasticus xlix. 10.

² iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41.

with them a strong evidence of credibility, relate that the men of the Great Synagogue completed the work of revision. This Synod consisted of one hundred and twenty of the leaders of the different orders of the Jewish people, and they say, that the first list of them is found in Nehemiah, the tenth chapter. On the death of Simon the Just, 292 B.C., the Sanhedrim (the Council of Seventy) succeeded as the Ecclesiastical Court of the nation. Simon, Michaelis, and other critics, dispute the authority of this tradition, but it has been successfully vindicated by Graetz and Dr. Ginsburg. To the Jews *were committed the oracles of God*.¹

(h) The word Apocrypha means hidden, secret, spurious, *i.e.*, not canonical. The books which never formed part of the Hebrew Canon are styled apocryphal; they form no part of the Septuagint Version (280—240 B.C.), many of them being not written at that time, and others not being considered as inspired. Philo, and Jesus the son of Sirach, clearly distinguish between these books and the Canonical books. In after ages, the Hellenistic Jews, and some of the Christian fathers, even Augustine, unacquainted with Hebrew, looked upon these books with favour, and they were read in the Churches, and by some regarded as inspired. Jerome, in the fourth century, had juster views: but the Council of Trent has declared them canonical, and as such the Church of Rome receives them. Our Protestant Bible is that of the Hebrew Church and people from Ezra to the present time.

In conclusion, in reference to this important branch of Biblical Criticism, let me refer the reader for further information on the classification of the sacred books, and the reasons which justified their insertion in the Canon,

¹ St. Paul, Romans iii. 2.

to the information contained in Chapters V. to X. of this volume. The most satisfactory writers on the Canon, and the most likely to be read, are Keil in his "Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament" (translated by Douglas),¹ Rev. Dr. W. L. Alexander on the "Canon," and Dr. Ginsburg on the "Great Synagogue."²

The Text
of the
Old Tes-
tament.

(3) *The Hebrew Verity* is a phrase made use of by the old divines to express the foregone conclusion and presumption, that the original text of the Hebrew Bible had by a special miracle been preserved to modern times. From this dream they were startled by the controversy as to the origin and date of the vowel points, between the Buxtorfs and Morinus and Cappel, in the seventeenth century; and by subsequent discoveries of from 30,000 to 200,000 different readings in the MSS. and printed editions of the Hebrew Bible. These variations are, however, very unimportant. The Hebrew Bible of the present day is no doubt substantially the same as the recension made by Ezra and others, the text which was the *textus receptus* in the days of our Lord and his apostles. It is, however, important to keep in mind that in this text the old phraseology is occasionally modernised, obscure passages being explained by a glossary of a word or phrase; the chronologies and genealogies especially have suffered through the errors of transcribers; all this implies considerable though unimportant alteration in the language, yet not in the meaning of the original writers.

(a) We have no autographs, and no perfect MSS. of either the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures, or of any Greek or Latin classic author; on the contrary there is no ancient book, sacred or secular, of which the text is not

¹ Vol. II. pp. 137, &c. ² In Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopedia," Third Edition.

to some extent imperfect and incorrect. In this respect the Hebrew Scriptures stand in the same, but in no worse position than all other writings of antiquity. The fact has been exaggerated by the sceptical school, as for instance Lord Bolingbroke in his "Letters on History," who asserts that "the Scriptures of the Old Testament are come down to us broken and confused, full of additions, interpolations, and transpositions, made we neither know when or by whom: and such in sort as never appeared on the face of any other book on whose authority men have agreed to rely." And further, it is his opinion "that if the Scriptures had been given originally by Divine inspiration, either such accidents would not have happened, or the Scriptures would have been preserved entirely in their genuine purity, notwithstanding these accidents."¹ His lordship, however, refutes in part his own objection in the next page, admitting "that amidst all the changes—neither the original writers or later compilers have been suffered to make any essential alterations, such as would have falsified the Law of God and the principles of the Jewish and Christian religion in any other Divine fundamental points."

(b) The true state of the case is given by that most learned father of modern English Criticism, Dr. Bentley (in his "Remarks on a late Discourse on Free Thinking"):² "It is a fact undeniable that the Sacred Books have suffered no more alterations than common or classic authors, and have no more variations than what must necessarily have happened from the nature of things; and it has been the common sense of men of letters, that numbers of manuscripts do not make a text precarious, but are useful, nay, necessary to its estab-

¹ Works, Vol I. p. 95.

² 1713.

lishment and certainty. I have too much value for the ancient classics, even to suppose that they are to be abandoned, because their remains are sufficiently pure and genuine to make us sure of the writer's design. If a corrupt line or dubious reading chances to intervene, it does not darken the whole context, nor make an author's purpose precarious. Terence, for instance, has as many variations as any book whatever in proportion to its bulk, and yet with all its interpolations, omissions, or glosses (choose the worst of them on purpose), you cannot deface the contrivance and plot of one play—no, not of one single scene; but its sense, design, and subserviency to the last issue and conclusion shall be visible and plain through all the mists of various lections. And so it is with the Sacred Text. And why, then, must the Sacred Book have been exempted from the injuries of time, and secured from the least change? What need of that perpetual miracle, if with all the present changes the whole Scripture is perfect and sufficient to all the great ends and purposes of its first writing?" The opinions of this great critic, (to whose laborious industry his biographer testifies) are conclusive: he had a claim to speak with authority, for it is said that "before the age of twenty-four he had written with his own hand a sort of Hexapla, a thick volume in quarto, in the first column of which was every word of the Hebrew Bible, alphabetically disposed, and in five other columns all the various interpretations of those words in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate, Latin, Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, that occur in the whole Bible. This he made for his own private use, to know the Hebrew, not from the later Rabbins, but the Ancient Versions." ¹

¹ Chalmers' "Biog. Dic.," Vol. IV. p. 501.

(4) At the same time, we have reason to be thankful that the text of Scripture is comparatively more correct than that of any book which has come to us from ancient times. In many classical authors there are passages so faulty, that conjecture is the only remedy for amending them. Let any one look at the pages of Æschylus, Sophocles, Plato, Terence, and Lucretius, and he will find, not only thousands of different readings—scarcely a line without one—and many places at which erudite skill can only guess at what the text might be. Dr. Geddes ; (a Romanist and Rationalist) remarks, “What work of antiquity is there, the text of which we have so many means of correcting as that of the Pentateuch?” and adds that by the help of the old versions, Greek, Syriac, &c., and the various MSS. readings, “a really genuine copy of the Pentateuch may, by the rules of a judicious criticism, be at length obtained.”¹ To the learned and laborious drudgery of the industrious Jewish doctors of Tiberias, commonly called “Masoretes” (Traditionists), from their attempt to restore the pure traditionary readings of the sacred books, freed from the glosses and corruptions of past ages, we are indebted for the present comparatively correct text of the Hebrew books. This recension was made in the period between the sixth and eleventh century. The character of their criticism was conservative rather than conjectural, preserving even a faulty reading in the text, and correcting it by the marginal notes *keri* and *khetib*. They no doubt introduced the vowel points, and other diacritical marks, which never were and are not even now used in the copies read in the Synagogue. Their labours were founded on the researches of their predecessors in the *Mishna* (oral

Dr.
Geddes.

Masoretes.

¹ Preface to “New Translation of the Bible,” p. xx.

interpretation of the law) in the second century ; in the *Gemara* (a commentary thereon) of Jerusalem, 370—380, A.D. ; and that of Babylon, 427—475, A.D. The *Gemara* and *Mishna* are included in the *Talmud*. The old *Masorah* (traditional interpretation) dates from before the sixth century, and the new, extended to the eleventh century, of which we have two recensions—the one by Aaron Ben Asher, of Tiberias, the other by Jacob Ben Naphtali, of Babylon. Our printed Hebrew Bibles are from the Tiberias recension. We may mention other Jewish scholars who, as commentators and critics, helped to guard jealously the integrity of the text of the Hebrew Bible : Solomon Jarchi, 1040—1105 ; Aben Ezra, 1119—1175 ; Maimonides, 1131—1204 ; Jacob Kimchi, 1190—1240 ; and Elias Levita, 1447—1530. Justice has never yet been done to the indomitable vigour and laborious industry of the Jewish scholars ; we forget the men of the great Synagogue (the Bible committee of the Jewish Church), from Nehemiah to the death of Simon the Just, 290 B.C. ; the labours of Antigonus of Socho, and of Hillel and Gamaliel, are scarcely known to us. Few sympathise with the literary zeal which immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem established a Biblical School at Jamnia, and finally at Tiberias, and the words Targum, Talmud, Masora, are to most Christian ears strange and inscrutable. “ Basnages’ History ” is seldom read, but the writings of that gifted Jew, Emanuel Deutsch (who died in 1873), and his brief memoir, have helped to give the English reading public more correct notions of the character of Jewish literature, and of our indebtedness to that literature, especially in the preservation of a substantially correct text of the Hebrew Scriptures. I may add to the list of Oriental Biblical scholars, whose

Industry
of the
Jewish
Scholars.

writings have helped to call public attention to this branch of literature, two names of Wesleyan ministers, the only writers connected with that branch of the Christian Church who, since the time of Dr. Adam Clarke, have given special attention to this generally neglected class of Rabbinical studies: Dr. James Townley, whose illustrations of "Biblical Literature," 3 vols. 8vo, and translation of the "More Nevochim" of Maimonides, 1821—9, display no small amount of learning and research, and Dr. J. W. Etheridge, whose Histories of Hebrew and Syriac Literature, and translations of the Targums, and of the Syriac Gospels and Acts, &c., have been recommended by the Edinburgh and other reviews.

(5) In one respect the criticism of the text of the Old Testament is placed at some disadvantage, compared with that of the New. In the Old Testament we are confined to MSS. all of one class from the original Masoretic copy: the various readings cannot be judged by any special circumstance connected with supposed exemplars, as in the case of the Greek Testament; their *number* rather than any acknowledged value attached to the MSS. must decide as to the correctness of the reading. Not any of the few most ancient MSS. are of great antiquity. There are some supposed to be of the sixth, eighth, and ninth centuries, but their age is doubtful. The *two* oldest Hebrew MSS., now the property of the Czar of Russia, in the collection at St. Petersburg, are one containing the Prophets, A.D. 916-7, and another of the entire Bible, A.D. 1009. The *printed text of our Hebrew Bible* is formed upon that of *Opitius*, published 1709, the labour of thirty years, one of the most accurate ever printed: this text is founded upon Bomberg's edition, 1535, and

Old Testament MSS.
are all of
one class.

Variorum
readings of
Kennicott
and De
Rossi.

1547, and 1568 ; and also upon Vander Hooght's, published 1705. When the learned had recovered from their erroneous belief in the Hebrew verity, attention began to be paid to the collecting of various readings by the collation of MSS. Kennicott and De Rossi, from 1776—1790, A.D., collated 1,459 MSS., and 418 printed documents, besides copies of the Talmud and other Jewish writings. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, two vols., folio, contains 200,000 various readings, very few of which affect the sense of the text. By these labours, continued by other scholars, the text has been brought under the eye of modern criticism, but can never reach to the perfection which critics hope to attain in the case of the text of the New Testament. It is obvious that the translators of the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch and version, the Syriac, the old Italic, and the Vulgate, had before them texts differing considerably from our present received Hebrew text. These variations and differences do not affect any point of faith or morals, but the fact of their existence has an important bearing in relation to many of the theories of the "higher criticism." So also the *errors* which are admitted to have crept into the text by the mistakes of copyists, and the *interpolations* and *additions* of editors from Ezra to the days of Simon the Just, all of which have to some extent modified the phraseology of the original writers. These do not affect the genuineness and antiquity of the writings, but they so far neutralise some of the most astounding assumptions of certain "advanced" critics, resting, as they do, upon mere verbal peculiarities. Our Hebrew text, though *substantially* the same as that of the recension ascribed to Ezra, is not so in some minor particulars. Since the time of Simon the Just, other corrections (originally

placed as notes in the margin) have passed into the text. To take these phrases and additions, and infer from them conclusions unfavourable to the antiquity of the documents (of which originally they formed no part), is to reason in a circle. Here again we may quote Dean Milman in reference to this class of criticisms: "There seems to me a fatal fallacy in the ground-work of much of their argument. Their minute inferences and conclusions, drawn from slight premises, seem to presuppose an integrity and perfect accuracy in the existing text, not in itself probable, and certainly utterly inconsistent with the general principles of their criticism."¹ On the whole, however, the Jews have been faithful guardians of the purity of the text. The charge of designed corruption is confined to only *four* passages, Deut. xxvii. 4, Psalm xvi. 10, Psalm xxii. 16, 17, and Zechariah xii. 10, to which we shall have occasion to refer. Dr. S. Davidson has attempted to do for the Old Testament text, what Griesbach and others have done for the Greek Testament, in his valuable book on the Hebrew text published 1865.

(6) *The antiquity of the art of writing* is a point of no small importance in connection with the *text* of the Pentateuch, which is considered to have been written about 1500 B.C. In 1795, *F. A. Wolf*, a learned German professor, in his "Prolegomena" to a new edition of Homer, advocated the opinion that the poems of Homer were not committed to writing till the time of Pisistratus, A.D. 560, and that writing was not known in Greece long before that period. This, *if true* as regards Greece, would not have affected the Oriental nations of Phœnecia, Syria, the Hebrews, Babylonia, Egypt, but it was at once taken for granted that the art of writing

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The Art
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¹ "History of the Jews," Vol. I. pp. 132, 133.

Wolfian
Theory.

could not have been known at the time of Moses, and consequently that the Pentateuch could not have been written by him. The generation of the learned after Wolf, assumed, as a fact proved and admitted, these consequences of the Wolfian theory, implying the comparatively modern origin of the earliest remains of Hebrew literature, (for instance the Pentateuch) with the same confidence as certain critics of the advanced school now speak of the theory of the authorship of the Pentateuch by Samuel, or by some one living about or even after the captivity; and of the other theories of the Maccabean date of the Book of Daniel, as well as the twofold authorship of the Books of Isaiah and of Zechariah, as facts firmly established by what has been aptly called "*that literary terrorist the most recent criticism.*"¹ It was in vain for those who were not converts to these theories to appeal to the many references to the art of writing to be found in the Pentateuch itself; that most ancient record being considered as on trial, and not being permitted to bear witness on facts bearing on its own veracity. These views of the recent origin of the art of writing are no longer maintained, the discoveries of our *Egyptologists*, and of our learned labourers in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, having proved beyond controversy *the remote antiquity of letters and of syllabic and alphabetical writing*. Baron Bunsen is satisfied that the art of writing was practised in Egypt in the time of *Menes*, the first king, whose date is probably 2700 B.C., according to Poole's "System of Chronology." There is a list of *old* Egyptian literature in Bunsen's first volume of "Egypt's Place in Universal History," comprising Science, Music, &c. The earliest papyrus MS. is said to be of the age

Remote
Antiquity
of the Art
of Writ-
ing.

¹ "Edin. Review," Vol. CIV. p. 374.

of Cheops, 2300 B.C.; there is another, containing the "Moral Essays" of one Ptah-heft, a Prince of the fifth Dynasty, 2200 B.C., in the Imperial Library at Paris. The "Book of the Dead," of which there is a papyrus copy at Turin, and which is simply a portion of the old "Sacred Ritual," in forty-two Books, was taken from the hands of a mummy, in which it had been placed long before the time of Moses. Another papyrus, in the British Museum, contains a so-called moral tale, written by one Kagabu for the use of a royal prince, Selt-Menophtha, who is supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. In an article on "Hieratic Papyri," written by C. W. Goodwin in "The Cambridge Essays,"¹ there are translations of novels, histories, &c., written during the period of the Israelitish bondage in Egypt. If, as the most authentic records tell us, that man first existed as a civilised being, and that civilised communities are the original, and barbarous tribes the mere off-shoots, the very backwoodsmen of ancient civilisation—an opinion opposed to the sceptical theory of man's rise from a mere animal and degraded position—then it will be easily understood that the art of writing may have been known from the remotest antiquity, and that the Books of Genesis and the other Books could have been written at the times usually given as their date, and that the notion to the contrary from the supposed ignorance of the art of writing is altogether erroneous. The publication of "Records of the Past," by Bagster & Son (Egyptian and Assyrian), in the original characters, with translations, of which already ten volumes are in the hands of the public, must satisfy the most sceptical on this point.

¹ Vol. II. p. 226. 1858.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTORY—SCEPTICAL CRITICISM FROM THE FIRST CENTURY TO THE NINETEENTH.

1. *Early Ages of the Christian Church.*—Within the Christian Church, or, rather, outside of its pale (though nominally accounted as Christian sects), the Ebionites, and the various Gnostic philosophical parties, including the writers of the Clementine Books, are noticed in the first and second centuries, some of them as ignoring the Old Testament, and others portions of the New Testament, chiefly on account of their doctrinal views, not on critical grounds. Of these sects and their writings Norton gives a full and rather a partial account in his work on the Gospels.¹ Towards the end of the second century the Greek philosophers, under the Roman rule politically, but themselves the rulers of Roman thought, laid aside their apparent contemptuous indifference, and began to examine the sacred writings of the Jewish and Christian Churches. From the time of St. Paul, Christianity at Rome had found its chief centre in the Imperial household (Philip IV. 22). Flavius Clemens, Consul in 95 A.D., a relation of the Emperor, was put to death in Domitian's persecution, and another relative, Domatilla, was banished—both of them on account of their Christian profession. That the first converts were mainly slaves or freedmen, is no proof of

¹ Two vols. 8vo. See also Burton and Mansel.

their mental inferiority, for amongst this class were frequently found the most intelligent and cultivated men of that day, who were quite competent to understand the merits and claims of Paganism and Christianity. The new opinions spreading therefore rapidly since the reign of Trajan, as certified by Pliny, had become a fact and a power, recognised as such by the heathen populace, and felt to be such more keenly still by the philosophical "professors," who, themselves affecting to despise the vulgar polytheism, hated the Christian teachers as rivals whose teachings were opposed to theirs, and which seemed by their progress to be far better adapted to meet the moral and spiritual cravings of the higher as well as the lower classes of society. Celsus, a philosopher who lived in the time of Antoninus Pius, and of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 140-176, excited, perhaps, by the failure of the last Jewish rebellion under Adrian, and by the persecution of the Christians by Marcus Aurelius, wrote a work entitled "The True Word," in which he attacked the Old Testament, and some of the Books which now form part of the New Testament. The attacks of Celsus are those of an able and determined opponent—one who, like our own Gibbon, wrote as if he had a personal enmity against Christ; he anticipates in principle every objection which the learning and culture of "modern thought" have in our age advanced against Christianity and its precursor, Judaism. About the same time, the satirist Lucian, in his "Life of Peregrinus," an apostate philosopher, ridicules the simplicity and kindness of Christian professors. Porphyry, a philosopher of the Neo-Platonic school, wrote, A.D. 270, "A Treatise against the Christians," in which he attacked the sacred writings, and especially the genuineness of Daniel's

prophecies, which he supposed were written in the Maccabean age. This is the favourite theory of all sceptics since the time of Porphyry, and of many who are not sceptics, but who think this to be the easiest method of cutting the knot of certain difficulties connected with that Book, but which rather increases them. It is much to be regretted that the works of Celsus and Porphyry have been only partially preserved in the replies of Origen to Celsus, and of Jerome to Porphyry; the replies of Methodius, Eusebius, and others, being also lost. Hierocles, Prefect of Bithynia, and afterwards of Alexandria, a learned man, and cruel persecutor of the Christians, under Diocletian, 308 A.D., revised Philostratus's "*Life of Apollonius of Tyana*," written about 210 A.D., and made use of the miracles attributed to this obscure philosopher as a ground for preferring him to Jesus Christ. The fragments of these and other writers have been preserved by Lardner in a copious analysis in his "*Testimonies of Ancient Heathen Writers*."¹ The influence of "the apologies" of Justin Martyr and others, for Christianity, is manifested in the altered tone of the defenders and expounders of Paganism, especially in their ingenious and elaborate attempts to rationalise its more palpable absurdities as "philosophical myths," and to tame down its polytheism into something like a respectable and rational theism. Thus the Pagan world was preparing to throw away its idols and to receive the teachings of Christ. Constantine found little difficulty in establishing Christianity as the state religion; his successors followed in his steps, the one exception being Julian (called the apostate), the hero of Gibbon's earlier volumes. His writings against Christianity are more satirical than critical or argu-

Christian
Apologists

¹ Vol. VII. of his Writings, p. 210, &c.

mentative ; they derive their importance mainly from the position of their author, and from the incidental light they throw upon the position of the Christian Church, and the gradually changing aspects of Pagan and Christian society. When, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the barbarians from the North and East overran and destroyed the once mighty fabric of Roman power in the West, Christianity as a Church and its various institutions remained intact, and, on the whole, was rather benefited and strengthened by the revolution which had changed every other relation of political and social life. It was the means by which all that was good in the ancient civilisation was preserved for future generations, and it leavened by little and little the seething mass of barbarism with religious and intellectual light. The savage chieftains adopted the creed of the conquered, and Christianity became (nominally at least) the established faith of all the new barbarian kingdoms through all their changing dynasties to our day.

Fall of the
Roman
Empire.

2. *The Middle Ages*.—The eight centuries from the close of the fifth, which witnessed the dissolution of the Western Empire of Rome, to the commencement of the fourteenth, from which we may date what is called the *Renaissance* (the revival of letters) comprise what historians usually call “the Middle Ages,” as intervening between barbarism and civilisation. In the insolence of our advanced but somewhat unsound material and mental growth, we often miscall them “the Dark Ages.” By a certain ecclesiastical party they are often lauded as the “Ages of Faith,” of implicit, undoubted trust in Church dogma, in which no doubt the essentials of Christian truth were taught—and something more. Of this transition period of growth in which the

Ages of
Faith.

Influence
of the
Romish
Church.

nations of Europe were raised by Christianity (as understood and carried out in the generally wise and uncompromising administration of the Romish Church), from barbarism to some perceptible amount of moral and intellectual culture, we are bound to speak with respect. We have no wish to ignore the beneficent influence of the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in the great work of the conversion of our barbarian ancestors, and in the reconstruction of European society after the fall of the Roman Empire. It is pleasing to notice that the Protestant Guizot, in his "History of Civilisation in Europe," and yet more fully in his "History of Civilisation in France," delights to acknowledge the debt which European society owes to the Romish clergy of the Middle Ages; Catholic indeed, but identified generally with their respective nationalities, and as such, opposed to the novel Ultramontane views of the recent Œcumenical Council. In the discipline of these eight centuries, mainly ecclesiastical in its character, the Western European became what he is, and ever will be, a being quite distinct from the pagan barbarians from Northern Europe and Central Asia, to whom we may trace his ancestry, and yet more separate and farther still removed from the weak, submissive races of Southern Asia. But, on the other hand, the faith of these ages rested solely on authority, denied the intellect its due share in the consideration of religious questions, and was, therefore, unfavourable to a healthy development of Christian character. Diversity of opinion and controversy—the natural consequences of the exercise of free thought—are necessary to the healthy life and vigorous growth of a Christian people. The Crusades which united Christian Europe in one object from the eleventh to the

The
Crusades.

thirteenth century, was one of these providential impulses from without, which further the cause of progress. The mental horizon of Europe was enlarged. The Crusaders brought back with them from Asia aspirations after a higher civilisation, and the germs of new ideas, which, in due time brought forth abundant fruit. The tendency to stagnancy of thought, among the limited class of scholars in the Middle Ages, was also partially arrested by the controversies of the schoolmen, from John Scotus Erigena, 850—885, to Abelard, 1075—1142, and so on to John Dun Scotus, 1265—1308; and by such theologians as Anselm, 1030—1107, Peter Lombard, 1100—1164, and St. Thomas Aquinas, 1227—1274. To speak of these men and of their writings, in the language of Macaulay, as “words, and mere words, and nothing but words,” “a sterile exuberance,” “a barren philosophy,” is a shameful rhetorical exaggeration. These men, with their “barren philosophy” raised and reared the thinkers who, generation after generation, prepared the way for the intellectual outbreak of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The disentombing and editing of the metaphysical discussions of the Middle Ages has not been deemed a trivial or fruitless task by some of the first continental scholars of this the nineteenth century, and their influence on our modern literature has been the subject of recent comment in our serials. In the later schoolmen there are evident traces of the influence of the pantheistic teachings engrafted on Aristotle by the Arabian Averrhoes, 1149—1206 (a charge confirmed by Dr. Newman in his work on the Universities), through which some of the Jewish rabbis, as well as Christian doctors, were led from orthodoxy to doubt. These views were widely circulated among the limited class of readers of that day. Not only the leading principles of

The
School-
men.

the Modern Sceptical schools were fully developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the special points which are prominent in the theories of unrest in our day, are the same as those discussed by the advanced schoolmen six centuries ago. Thus at Paris in 1270 the following erroneous opinions were condemned, *i.e.*, the eternity of the world—the mortality of the soul—the absolute necessity of all human actions—that the Deity knows nothing but Himself and cannot give immortality to a human being, and has no knowledge of the future, &c., &c. In endeavouring to solve all the problems of religious and philosophical thought, problems which to our present limited faculties and confined range of thought are insoluble, these inquirers knew just as much and *as little* as their better known successors in the nineteenth century. What we really know is *in part* and that only from revelation (1 Corinthians xiii. 9—12). In doubt itself there can be no merit, but it has its uses when it is only preliminary to the arriving at that which is certain, because true. The much quoted, and equally misunderstood, lines of our laureate, “There lives more faith in honest doubt, than in half the creeds,”¹ must not be wrested to excuse the indifference of an idle sensual class, void of all earnestness and sincerity, who long to cloak their dislike of serious continuous thought and of submission to law, under the more dignified semblance of intellectual doubt. The poet’s friend belongs to a different order of mind ; he is “perplexed in faith,” but “fought his doubts and gathered strength, faced these spectres of the mind, and laid them.” To all concerned, we say, “Go, and do likewise.” A visit to Doubting Castle may not have been unprofitable, but to choose it for a permanent

Uses of
Doubt.

¹ Tennyson, “In Mem.” xcv.

dwelling is a serious error, against which our old John Bunyan warns us. To cultivate doubt as an intellectual grace is the mistake of the weakest minds. Every intellectual spiritually-minded man longs for the rest of faith so beautifully described by the beloved disciple :—
" We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life " (1 John v. 20).

3. *The Revival of Letters.*—The gradual, though slow and almost imperceptible, growth of intelligence in the European peoples of the south and west is recognised, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, as the period of the "Revival of Letters," to which various events in that century and the fifteenth century largely contributed. The invention of the art of printing, A.D. 1450, probably at Mentz, and the cultivation of the Greek language and literature by the dispersion of learned Greeks after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, 1453 A.D., gave an additional impulse to the cultivation and spread of literature and knowledge. It was not unaccompanied by outbreaks of religious dissatisfaction, even so early as the fourteenth century. The rage for the exclusive study of the classical authors was accompanied by a settled depreciation of all ecclesiastical and Biblical studies ; and by some carried so far, as to indicate a desire for the restoration of pagan polytheism. Ranke quotes an Italian authority for the statement that, "No one passed in Italy for an accomplished man who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity."¹ The philosophy of Aristotle and Plato usurped the place and authority of the New Testament ; and, worse than this, the pantheism of the Oriental sages, which had for centuries

Spread of
Scepticism
in the
Renaissance

¹ "History of the Popes," Vol. I. p. 74.

lurked in the universities of France and Italy, was to some extent favoured by many of the learned, and afterwards produced its natural fruit in the writings of Bruno and Vanini, in the sixteenth century. So early as 1486, the authorities at Mentz, where the art of printing was invented and first exercised, felt it necessary to impose a censorship on the Press, lest "the divine art of printing" should be abused to the injury of mankind. A lax latitudinarian unbelief, sometimes in the disguise of orthodoxy, and sometimes without such pretence, at that time, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was all but universal in Rome and other Italian cities. In such a condition of religious and literary feeling, the Reformation of the sixteenth century found the Churches of Christian Europe. All old beliefs were being shaken, the very foundations had been re-examined, men doubted whether truth and certainty could be found in any opinion, or utility in any old-established institution. This unsettled feeling was increased by the enlarged views of the extent of the globe itself, and of the universe of which it forms an apparently insignificant portion. The Portuguese had in 1480 discovered the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1497 had doubled that promontory, and accomplished the direct passage to India, by which the trade of the East was secured to the European nations; and a few years before, in 1492, Columbus had discovered America, and had thus given a new world not to Castile only, but to Europe. In this century also Copernicus, in his "*Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies*," published in 1542, explained the true theory of the universe. All these new views tended to enlarge the narrow circle of men's thoughts, and to discredit not only the cosmology, but all the time-honoured teachings of the old schools, whether of philosophy or

religion. Philosophical scepticism naturally became the order of the day among the literary and higher classes, and the masses, though not liable to such philosophical influences, could not escape the infection of the lawlessness and irreverence for sacred things which accompanies all large and sweeping changes in religious opinions. These were, however, for the most part, temporary evils. On the whole, the change in the moral and intellectual character of the age was for the better. The minds of men were directed to the serious consideration of the relations of the Holy Scriptures to the creeds and ceremonials of the Churches—the great point at issue being, whether the Scriptures were of themselves to be regarded as the supreme authority in matters of theological controversy, or the Church, as the natural and authoritative interpreter of Scripture. All controversies as to the doctrines of the Churches were subordinate to this question of the authority of the Church. It is the fashion of a clique of literary men to treat with affected contempt not only the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, but also the important theological controversies of the primitive Church of the first four centuries, and of the Reformation up to the close of the characteristic Puritan theology in the latter years of the seventeenth century. On one occasion, Canning, following in the wake of Gibbon, raised a laugh among the wits and other loose members of the House of Commons by a reference to “the theology of a diphthong,” as represented in the “Homoousian and Homoiousian Controversy,” leaving upon the ignorant the impression that the labours of Bull, of Waterland, and others were beneath contempt. The disposition to trifle with the phraseology of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds has been manfully rebuked by the Editor of the

Ignorant
contempt
for the
School-
men and
for the
Divines of
the Seven-
teenth
Century.

"Spectator,"¹ in the following remarks : "This technical language of theology has not been a gratuitous invention of ingenious divines, but was a necessary development of thought. Each phrase is the record of some fierce controversy, which had to be fought, if dogmatic truth was to be preserved. Does — think the battle that was fought at Nicæa a purposeless strife?" The Fathers and the Schoolmen have been judged by the repetition, *ad nauseam*, of the trivialities which may be found in their voluminous writings ; and so with the controversial divinity of Germany and Holland, and the Puritan divinity of England, which a large class of our literary men (from sheer ignorance of its nature) condemn as useless and unreadable ; forgetting that, while much of it may be irrelevant to the circumstances of the age in which we live, it deserves to be remembered with gratitude, as containing a full discussion of all the great questions bearing upon our relations to God, and our duty to man, which at the time when first written had no small influence on the religion and morals of Christian Europe.

Deism.

4. *Rise of Deism*.—Biblical criticism has been affected by the controversies of the sixteenth century. The Romish and Protestant critics agree on points connected with their common Christianity, but differ in their treatment of the various questions relating to the evidences, the Canon, and the interpretation of Scripture. There are some doctrines advocated by Protestant divines, and embodied in the Confessions of the Protestant Churches of the sixteenth century, with which the more Scriptural views and wider scholarship of the nineteenth century cannot concur, any more than in the decrees of the Council of Trent of the sixteenth century or in the syllabus of Pio Nono put forth in his Encyclical, 8th December,

¹ May 22nd, 1880.

1864. Very soon after that great religious crisis—the Reformation, and as a natural consequence of the relaxation of the previous intellectual bondage, we hear of the first whisper of what the advanced minds of our day call “free thought,” in the epistle dedicatory to a work entitled “Christian Instruction,” written by Peter Viret, a Protestant Swiss minister, A.D. 1563. He refers to “certain men who call themselves Deists, a new word in opposition to that of Atheists.”¹ No doubt this Deism on the Continent and in England was the natural resistance of the intellect and heart against some dogmatic assumptions in the confessions of the Protestant Churches, especially in their extreme Calvinistic, or, rather, Augustinian aspect, considered apart from the other truths with which they are always connected. It is singular that this Calvinistic theology has generally been taught in connection with the truths received by all Evangelical Churches, and that many of its advocates have been remarkable, distinguished by their deep religious experience, and by the exhibition of the graces of the Christian character. Modern Calvinism, if more inconsistent and illogical than that of the past century, is by far the more reconcilable with moral feeling. For instance, Dr. Awater (in the “Princeton Review,” 1875) regards “the Divine foreordination and predestination of all events in a manner and within limits exclusive of fatalism, but inclusive of the contingency of second causes, and the freedom of rational and accountable creatures.” No doubt, in some such sense the Calvinists of the sixteenth and following centuries understood their creed; but it was not so understood by outsiders. The danger of our Churches in the nineteenth

¹ See Leland’s “View of Deistical Writers,” Vol. I. p. 2; or Bayle’s “Historical and Critical Dictionary.” Art. “Viret.”

Protes-
tantism
Polemical.

century is not Calvinism, but its opposite, Pelagianism. Protestant theology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was necessarily polemical, and it was not the fashion of that day, while contending even for doubtful points, to "speak the truth in love." Good, loving men, when drawn out as hot theologians, too often were betrayed into the spirit of those who were ready to call down fire from heaven on all opponents. The toleration of dissidents from Established Churches, or of opinions differing from those of the dominant Church or sect, was for generations after the Reformation regarded as a sin.

Toleration
not under-
stood.

A modified toleration was not secured in England until after the revolution of 1688. Free and full liberty to teach through the Press has only been fully established in our day. It is the singular and distinctive honour of the Baptist Churches to have defended from their earliest history the rights of conscience. Not one sentence in all their writings is to be found inconsistent with the principles of religious liberty, now dear to all Protestant Churches. Leonard Busher, a Baptist, citizen of London, had the honour of being its first advocate in England (A.D. 1610). Next to the Baptists are the Independents. John Goodwin, minister of Coleman-street, in 1644 advocated toleration in the fullest and most unshackled degree. Milton, in November, 1644, published his "Areopagitica," in defence of the freedom of the Press; Jeremy Taylor, his "Liberty of Prophesying," 1647; after which our philosopher, John Locke, his treatise on "Toleration;" but none of these great men have in their advocacy of this important principle excelled their Independent forerunner, John Goodwin. His life, by Thomas Jackson,¹ is one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the re-

Leonard
Busher.

John
Goodwin.

¹ 8vo, 1822 and 1872.

ligious controversies of the seventeenth century, of which, and of the general ecclesiastical history of that period, Dr. Stoughton's able and impartial work is the most full and fascinating record.¹

5. *The English Deists*.—The first of English Deists, according to Dr. Leland, (Leland's "View of 'Deistical Writers," Vol. I. pp. 1—35) was Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, elder brother of the pious poet, George Herbert, a name dear to the Church of England and to all Christians. Lord Herbert is called by Robert Hall "the first and purest of our English free-thinkers." The difficulty which was the stumbling-block and stone of offence to him arose out of the narrow dogma of the Augustinian Calvinistic theology of the Church of that age; this is well and clearly put by the Rev. John Hunt in his "Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the end of last century."² "In his time the religious world was divided into two parties, which seemed to him about equally irrational, and both as corrupters of simple Christianity. These were the Sacerdotalists, who suspended all on the Church; and the Puritans, who resolved the everlasting condemnation of the greater portion of the human race into the mere will of God. If there is no salvation out of the Church; if God has left it to depend on the mere accident of being baptised by a properly ordained priest, or on having received the other sacrament according to certain prescribed rites and ceremonies, where is the goodness, not to say the justice, of God towards the heathen and those who are out of the pale of the Church? And if He is good and merciful and just, how can He take pleasure in the eternal reprobation of them

Lord
Herbert

¹ See "Ecclesiastical History of the Civil Wars of the Commonwealth, of the Restoration, and of the Revolution," Five Vols. 8vo.

1867—1874, recently supplémented by Two Vols. on the Georgian period.

² Vol. I. p. 443.

to whom He never even offered salvation?" His system of philosophical religion is developed in his works, "De Veritate," "De Causis Errorum," "De Religione Laici," and "De Religione Gentilium," published from 1624 to 1663, A.D. The sceptics of our day must regard him as a weak unbeliever, not far advanced beyond the theological mind of his age, for he believed in the possibility of Divine illumination, and was convinced that he himself had been favoured with a sign from heaven expressive of the Divine approbation of the book "De Veritate," which he was about to publish. He nowhere professed opposition to Christianity or revealed religion, but desired to have the morals without the facts and doctrines, and thus have a universal religion in which all men could agree. The four articles are—(1) There is one Supreme God. (2) That He is chiefly to be worshipped. (3) Piety and virtue the principal parts of His worship. (4) That we must repent of our sins, and if we do so God will pardon them. (5) That there are rewards for good men, and punishments for bad men in a future state. These truths he regards as inscribed by God on the minds of all men, and universally acknowledged. Baxter, Locke, and Whitby replied to Herbert; but the most valuable criticism upon his scheme, and of the claims of what is called Natural Religion (in spite of some narrowness and unnecessary dogmatism), was written by Thomas Halyburton, Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, a man whose remarkable "Christian Experience" was reprinted in 1740 by John Wesley. His work is entitled "Natural Religion Insufficient and Revealed Necessary to Man's Happiness."¹ Thomas Hobbes, 1583—1679, of Malmsbury, is sometimes reckoned among the English

Thomas
Haly-
burton.

Hobbes.

Deists, owing, no doubt, to the tendency of the "Leviathan," and other writings, slavish in their teachings, and opposed to all English notions of either civil or religious liberty. But he professed a belief in Christianity; his remarks on the historical books of the Old Testament identify him with the advanced school of Biblical criticism. In the advocacy of the principle of authority he was (as Warburton remarks) "the terror of his age," and was honoured with replies from Lord Clarendon, and the two archbishops, Tension and Bramhall. His metaphysical writings, which advocate pure sensationalism, have been edited by Sir W. Molesworth.¹ A succession of Deistical advocates appeared in the last half of the seventeenth century—Blount, Tindal, Woolston, Toland, Collins, Morgan, Chubb, Dodwell, and Annet, the latter in the eighteenth century. A full account of their works may be found in Leland's "Deistical Writers,"² and a very fair, perhaps too partial an estimate of the literary character of their writings in that valuable and most readable book, "Hunt's Religious Thought in England."³ The main points maintained, sometimes in a reverential spirit, by these men, were the sufficiency of natural religion, the falsity or deficiency of proof, and the non-necessity of the revelation of God's will in the Scripture, and the impossibility of miracles; in fact, the usual objections common to all the sceptical school, and which have been reiterated with much greater ability, and with all the advantages of deeper learning and a more extensive acquaintance with the vagaries of human thought, by the doubters of this generation. In the then imperfect and narrow education of the middle classes, and through

¹ Eleven Vols. 8vo. 1839—45.

² Two Vols. 8vo.

³ "Hunt's Religious Thought in England," Vols. II. & III. 8vo. 1871.

the influence of the prejudices against religion created by both High Church and Puritan excesses and wordy controversies, these writings had for more than a generation a large circulation and considerable weight with a respectable class of readers, especially as many of those who replied to them were by no means competent to the task. The statement in the advertisement to Bishop Butler's "Analogy of Religion,"¹ that "by many persons Christianity is not so much a subject for inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious," is no doubt an exaggeration of the feeling prominent in certain circles, and, so far, has some foundation in fact. About this time, 1753—6, the witty Lord Chesterfield, in "The World" (a series of popular essays), ridiculed the prevalent unthinking and silly scepticism in his well-known satire, "The Creed of the Free-thinkers," which we give as applicable to our day, and which one cannot help thinking of as we read certain articles in the "Contemporary," the "Fortnightly," the "Nineteenth Century," and other serials, all of which practically belong to the school of unrest, or pander to its unhealthy cravings. Here it is, for the benefit of those who never understood and never believed in the Apostle's Creed:—

"I believe that there is no God, but that matter is God, and God is matter; and that it is no matter whether there is any God or not.

"I believe also that the world was not made; that the world made itself; that it had no beginning; that it will last for ever, world without end.

"I believe that a man is a beast, that the soul is the body, and the body is the soul, and that after death there is neither body nor soul.

¹ 1736.

Bishop
Butler.

Lord
Chester-
field.

"I believe that there is no religion; that natural religion is the only religion; and that all religion is unnatural.

"I believe not in Moses. I believe in the first philosophy. I believe not the Evangelists. I believe in Chubb, Collins, Toland, Tindal, Morgan, Mandeville, Woolston, Hobbes, Shaftesbury. I believe in Lord Bolingbroke. I believe not St. Paul.

"I believe not revelation; I believe in tradition; I believe in the Talmud; I believe in the Alcoran. I believe not the Bible. I believe in Socrates; I believe in Confucius; I believe in Soncianiathon; I believe in Mahomet. I believe not in Christ."

Lastly, "I believe in all unbelief."

6. *Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Hume, Conyers Middleton.*

—Besides these minor Free-thinkers, now almost forgotten, we have to refer to three names which have left their mark on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Lord Shaftesbury, 1671—1733; Lord Bolingbroke, 1678—1751; and David Hume, 1738—1751. What Lord Shaftesbury's fixed opinions really were is difficult to say; they all tended to unsettle believers rather than to deny the truths of Revelation. There are two remarks of his, one already well known, the other worth knowing: the first—"Ridicule is the test of truth," which no one seriously believes; the other, that religion is "still a discipline and a progress of the soul towards perfection," alluded to by a recent writer as an anticipation of Lessing's similar remark in his "Education of the World." "The Characteristics" are now little read, though occasionally quoted. Of Lord Bolingbroke it is difficult to speak; the contrast between the brilliancy of his intellect and the hypocrisy and meanness of his character is so painful. Professing the most ardent zeal

for Christianity, and love for the established Church, while disbelieving its doctrines ! concealing his peculiar views while living, yet, as Dr. Johnson rightly puts it, "loading his blunderbuss, and leaving David Mallett, his literary executor, to fire it off after his death." His letters on History are an attack on the Jewish and Christian religion ; they, with his other works, are seldom read by the men of this generation. Whatever influence he and Shaftesbury exercise upon the men of our day is through the didactic poem, Pope's " Essay on Man," the flimsy Shaftesburian philosophy of which is, however, generally unnoticed in the melody and rhythm of the versification. In David Hume we recognise another man altogether. Hunt remarks, with truth, that " Bolingbroke was the most worthless, Hume the most sagacious of all the Deists." His Deism was rather that of a pagan " philosopher of the porch " than of an anti-Christian. Amid his philosophical discussions and metaphysical sophistries and subtleties there is so much right feeling and good sense, that one cannot but think that if he had been capable of deep feeling and moral earnestness, he would have adorned the Christian character. Another man has been classed as a covert ally, if not an open professor of Deism—a name which on many accounts deserves to be mentioned with respect—that of Conyers Middleton, a clergyman, a shrewd, acute, and courageous controversialist, not afraid of the great critic Bentley, and ready to break a lance with the dignitaries of his Church on points of divinity or Church history. His best work is his " Letter from Rome " ¹ on the conformity of Paganism and Popery, which is republished about every twenty years, and is a most readable and able production ; but another work, equally learned, his

¹ 1729.

"Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers,"—supposed to have subsisted in the Church in the early ages¹—though generally in accordance with the convictions of most of the intelligent Christians of the nineteenth century, was warmly opposed a century ago by the clergy and laity of all denominations. In the willingness to give up facts, some of which were deemed necessary positions of the outworks of the defences of Christianity, Middleton resembled that amiable divine Dean Stanley (minus the amenities and graces of the Christian temper, in which he was lamentably deficient). Like the Dean, he lived an example (not to be imitated) of how indifferent a man may be to what is called "Christian Dogma," and yet retain, after a peculiar fashion, his sincere belief in Christianity.

7. *The Deistical controversy—revival of religion in the eighteenth century.*—One result of the Deistical writings was the calling into existence a series of replies, some of which, though now little read, contain powerful defences of revealed religion against Deistical objections. In the controversies of the nineteenth century they have small place, as the adversaries of revealed religion have changed their ground, and have, of course, adopted a different mode of attack, which requires a change in the mode of defence. Among these Christian advocates and apologists we may mention Bishops Stillingfleet, Sherlock, Smallbroke, and yet a greater bishop—Butler. Bentley, the famous critic; Sam Clark, the defender of natural religion; Lord Lyttleton, who wrote on the Apostleship of St. Paul; West, on the Resurrection; Leslie, in his *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*; G. Campbell, and Beattie, of the Church of Scotland; Isaac Watts, Howe, Lardner, Leland, and Doddridge—all of them

¹ First published 1748.

Wesley
and
Whitefield

magnates of Dissent. Some of these treatises are included in the "Collection of Evidences of Christianity."¹ The works of Paley belong to a later period of our history. Our sceptics tell us sometimes, "We are tired of your Lardners, and Paleys, and Butlers; they do not reach our case; they do not satisfy us." Our answer is, they *ought* to satisfy candid inquirers so far as the external evidences of Christianity are in dispute, and *would*, if carefully read and weighed; they are not specially adapted to grapple with the infidelity of the heart, which requires another sort of treatment. In the last century, as now, the spread of infidelity arose from causes beyond the reach of argumentative treatises. The disease was a spiritual one—the deadness of the Churches. Sermons which are now found to be unreadable, were no doubt felt to be unhearable. Christian congregations were as the valley of dry bones described by the prophet, *No life in them, very dry* (Ezekiel xxxvii.). Nothing short of a powerful revival of spiritual experimental religion could meet the case. To use the words of Hunt:²—"The last echoes of the Deistical controversy had not ceased when it was rumoured that Wesley and Whitefield were attracting to the churches crowds of people who professed to realise in themselves the truths of that religion which the Deists were said to have assailed." Christianity was to them not only a faith, but an experience. We are to *taste and see that the Lord is good* (Psalm xxxiv. 8); and this personal experience is the abiding satisfying evidence within us. *He that believeth hath the witness in himself* (1 John v. 10). Hence the English Deism left no permanent mark on the mass of the population. It never had a hold on the people, and was chiefly influential among the wits of the coffee-

¹ Five Vols. 8vo. 1815—1817.

² Vol. III. p. 395.

house, the *soirées* of the fashionable, and the studies of some of the learned. Unbelief among the masses withered under the warmth of revived religious feeling through the labours of the Methodists, which affected not only the Dissenters, but the clergy of the Establishment, from among whose ranks the Evangelicals, as distinct from the dry and formal High Church clergy formed a very considerable, influential, and valuable body within the pale of the Establishment itself. It would, however, be unjust to leave the impression that the revival of religious feeling in the Church of England was owing to Methodism, popularly so called, existing beyond the pale of the English Church. On the contrary, the Methodist Churches—Wesleyan, Calvinistic, and others—are obviously the result of a movement on the part of certain clergymen, which was called by opponents Methodism, and to which the Wesleys and Whitefield were parties. There had been a previous movement, a practical protest against the latitudinarian theology and the laxity of the clergy, on the part of certain associations called “The Religious Societies,” formed in 1678 by young men connected with the congregations of Dr. Horneck and another clergyman. These meetings, held weekly for reading, prayer, and exhortation, helped to satisfy the craving for spiritual communion; they were the precursors of the Methodist Class-meetings (though not the occasion which called them forth). To these societies, purely spiritual in their object, and quite independent of all Nonconformity and Methodism, the Evangelical clergy may trace their origin—a more illustrious one than the delusive dogma of what is called Apostolic succession, which can only be dubiously traced at second hand through a questionable channel. No doubt the labours of the Wesleys and

The Evan-
gelical
Clergy.

The
Religious
Societies.

Whitefield had no small effect upon the clergy and congregations of the Establishment, but the fire by which the Church was warmed had been kindled in its own precincts. So much for the justification of the genuine Church of Englandism of the Evangelical clergy ; their Gospel teaching was the salt which saved that Church from corruption ; they were the men whose labours and earnest piety did much to preserve it as an establishment. It would be amusing, if it were not too painful, to observe the attempts of their High Church and Broad Church brethren to decry their past and present influence, and to deny the obligations of their Church to them. Could any man of the great Church parties now living, or any number of them, have accomplished the work of the men of spiritual power—the early and later Evangelical leaders ? Think of such men as Shirley, Perronet, the Hills, Berridge, Grimshaw, Toplady, Hervey, Romaine, Stillingfleet (Hotham), J. Venn (Huddersfield), John Newton, John Scott, Richard Cecil, Simeon (Cambridge), the Milners, S. Walker (Truro), J. Venn (Clapman), Bishop Wilson, and more recently of Henry Venn (of the Church Missionary Society). Let no man revelling in the wider range of the mental horizon of this nineteenth century attempt to call these apostolical men “ narrow ! ” We might not agree in all their theological views, but there are two sorts of narrowness—one, to which we are all prone, arising out of ignorance and prejudice ; the other, which is the result of the absorption of mind and feeling, and the concentration of effort on one great point in order to ensure one great object. Was Richard Cecil narrow when he wrote, “ Hell is before me ; Jesus Christ stands forth to save men ; He sends me to proclaim His ability and His love ; I want no fourth idea ; every fourth idea is con-

temptible, every fourth idea is a grand impertinence"? (See his Remains). So also St. Paul (Philip. iii. 13), "*This one thing I do, I press toward the mark*;" and again (1 Cor. ii. 2), "*I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.*" The excesses of the French Revolution (1793-6) helped also the reaction in favour of orthodoxy among the higher and middle classes of society. The influence of these classes enforced at least the observance of the decencies and outward forms of religion. Scepticism lost every vestige of respectability, and soon became the degraded thing represented by the low but vigorous writings of Tom Paine. It is, however, much to be lamented that upon the English literature of the eighteenth century the Deism of the literary coteries has left its cankerous stain. Hume's History of England (1754-61) and Robertson's Scotland, Charles V., &c. (1753-77); Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-88), works as imperishable as our literature, worthy predecessors of the great historical writers of this century, all of them even now exercising an anti-Christian influence on the thoughts of the rising generation, not by their direct inculcation of infidel principles—an offence against good taste of which these great writers were generally incapable—but by the absence of all reference to the Christian high standard of motives and principles. Hume and Gibbon make no secret of their unbelief. The severe and caustic remarks of the learned Porson upon Gibbon are true to the letter, but cannot be quoted here. Robertson, a Presbyterian minister, has been unjustly termed an unbeliever; he was fearful of exposing himself to the ridicule of his sceptical friends by any display of religious zeal. The literary atmosphere of England would have been far

Influence
of the
French
Revolution
on Reli-
gious feel-
ing in
England

more pure and spiritual, had these inimitable writers entered into the spirit of the thoughtful Christian philosophy of the great French historian Guizot, as manifested in his "History of Civilisation in Europe and in France." The latter part of the eighteenth century was not fruitful in sacred criticism, but from the beginning of the present century there have been a series of sceptical Biblical critics, and critics of the advanced and Broad Church school. Their views will come before us in due course.

Complex
Scepticism
of the
Nine-
teenth
Century.

It may, however, be desirable to remark, in concluding this reference to English thought and feeling, that the question of the authority of the Scriptures is only one of the points, though a very important one, at issue between the Sceptic and the Believer of the nineteenth century. The sceptical advocates meet us with what seem to be new theories, but which turn out to be "old foes with new faces." Science which can see no design in Nature—and knows no intelligent first cause. Materialism which ignores mind and moral responsibility. Pantheism and Atheism (which, though theoretically different, but morally identified) imply the notion of man's unaccountability. Mental philosophy founded on sensualistic principles, practically denying mind. On all these old battle-fields, Christian learning has so far been able for eighteen centuries past to hold its own. The bulk even of educated Christians have neither the time nor the taste for such studies; but happily the main question, the authority of the Bible, is one of much less difficulty to master—and the settlement of this practically settles all the others. If we have a revelation from God, it is decisive: all difficulties raised by science, of whatever character, must then be dealt with as arising out of the present imperfection of our knowledge, which time will help to remove. The twofold revelation of

God, in His word, and in His works, cannot really differ; and our inability at present to harmonise our theories respecting them does not justify the vulgar notion of a necessary conflict between science and religion. The antagonism which now exists, is the result of the partial ignorance of both theologians and philosophers; and hence the rise of an intolerant dogmatism alike discreditable to both parties.

8. *Continental Schools of Philosophy*.—England is but a small, though a very important province of the European commonwealth. The Continental thinkers claim for themselves a more advanced position in philosophical studies, and in critical investigations. Before these speculators can be properly classified as either of French or German nationality, there are certain great names to the influence of whose teaching the philosophy and criticism of both these countries may be traced. Descartes (1637—74), well known for his maxim, oft repeated, “I think, therefore, I am,” whose systems both of physical and mental philosophy were founded on assumed *à priori* principles; he thought that the existence of God, and the nature of the soul ought to be demonstrated by natural reason. The devout Malebranche, a disciple of Descartes, published, in 1674, his work on “Truth,” which is considered by able metaphysicians to be logically but a half-way house between Descartes and Spinoza. What a philosopher may mean by such phrases as “seeing all things in God,” and what he is able to impress as his meaning upon others are two different things. From the imperfection of human language, it is difficult for the most orthodox writers, especially in religious poetry or hymnology, to keep clear of phrases which savour of Pantheism. Witness, among others, Dante, Keble, Wesley, &c.—a lesson to

Descartes.

Male-
branche.

Spinoza.

Christian critics not to make a man an offender on account of a careless word or expression—nor to mistake metaphor for logic. Spinoza, a Dutch Jew, alienated from the faith of his fathers by the study of Maimonides, and of Aben Ezra, the rationalistic Rabbi of the twelfth century, was the founder of a philosophical system, Pantheistic in its nature, fascinating in its influence over the speculative thinking of his own and future ages—1660—1670. His work, “*Tractatus Theologico Politicus*,” has special reference to Biblical criticism, and as it contains the germ of the advanced views of the sceptical critics of the nineteenth century, he may be regarded as the founder of the “Higher Criticism.” Spinoza himself was a sincere Theist, leading a self-denying and blameless life; he has been absurdly vilified on account of the tendency of his system, of which he seems to have been unconscious; and with equal unreasonableness has been lauded to the skies as “the God-intoxicated Spinoza,” by his admirers. Herder and Schleiermacher claim him as a Christian. His language is often quite orthodox in speaking of Christ as “the Eternal Wisdom of God,” “The Way of Salvation,” but obviously in a sense which can only be understood by adepts in his philosophy.¹ In an article in the “*Edinburgh Review*,”² we find two remarks worth preserving in this connection—one on Spinoza’s philosophy, which applies to all philosophy of the intuitive and *à priori* school: “What can be expected from an endeavour like Spinoza’s to reduce a theory of the Infinite from his own intuitive conceptions.” The other equally true. “It is no small tribute to the influence of Christianity that such a man should have been almost, though not altogether a Christian.” The same remark applies to many enlightened and philanthropic

¹ Hunt’s “*Pantheism*,” 8vo, pp. 214—240.² Jan. 1863, No. 239.

men of our day, who admire the moral teaching and loving sympathies of Christianity, but who cannot receive the one grand truth, the hope of the world—that Jesus Christ came into the world *to save sinners*. The offence of the Cross is now, as eighteen hundred years ago, “*to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness*” (1 Cor. i. 23). On Father Simon, 1678, and Le Clerc, 1685, and Peter Bayle, 1681—96, we may trace the influence of Spinoza’s philosophy, though they were opposed to its logical results. The two former are remarkable for their free inquiries in Biblical criticism, and the latter for his all but universal scepticism. Bayle’s Dictionary, Historical and Critical, 3 vols., 1696 (the English edition, 5 vols. folio), is a storehouse of sceptical stimulants, praised by Voltaire as “the book which teaches a young man to think,” by which he meant—to doubt. The work is useful for reference, as it is a lumber-room of curious, and, for the most part, useless literature. Except for its occasional studied and obtrusive indelicacy, it would be a very innocuous work. Leibnitz, the German philosopher, remembered best by his theory of “Monads” and “Pre-established Harmony,” was the opponent of what philosophers now call “Pessimism.” He wrote his “Theodicée” in reply to some of Bayle’s speculations. In this he endeavours to explain the origin of evil and the perfection of the Divine administration in human affairs; which exposed him to the ridicule of Voltaire, whose romance of “Candide,” is a continuous laugh at the “*best of possible worlds* of Mons. Leibnitz!” Many who laugh with Voltaire have never read a line of Leibnitz’s writings, which for learning, variety of illustrations, dignified morality, deep thought, and earnestness of purpose have never been excelled. To Leibnitz, however, we are indebted for a correction,

Father
Simon,
Le Clerc,
Peter
Bayle.

Leibnitz.

in the shape of an addition to the oft-quoted maxim of the sensual philosophy, "*Nihil in intellectu quid non fuerit in sensu*" (Nothing in the intellect which was not first in the senses); to this he added, "*nisi ipse intellectus*" (except the intellect itself), and by this addition "spread a new light over intellectual philosophy," in the opinion of Sir James Mackintosh. We may add to these the writings of our great philosopher John Locke (1690—1706), whose theory of the origin of our ideas through sensation, and his opposition to the then favourite theory of "Innate Ideas," seemed to refer the origin of all our knowledge to sensation. This misinterpretation of Locke has been general both in England and on the Continent, where he has been regarded as one of the founders of the modern Sensualistic School of Philosophy. From this stigma he has been successfully vindicated by Thomas E. Webb, in his treatise on "The Intellectualism of Locke."¹ Berkeley, whose ideal philosophy (1710—32) is by no means forgotten or neglected, together with Hobbes, Shaftesbury, and the old English Deists, exercised no small influence over Continental thought and speculation. We may now treat of the progress of sceptical views and scepticism in France and Germany separately.

9. In France, the scepticism of which Viret complained in 1563, spread covertly among the learned; a natural reaction against the dogmas and excesses of the Romish and Protestant Churches, and from the injurious effects of the religious wars and excited intolerant sectarian feeling. Montaigne's *Essays* (1563) are an unconscious stimulation to doubt, and something more. La Peyrere wrote a defence of Pre-Adamitism, 1655, and Pascal, Huet, and Abbadie replied to Bayle's sophisms, 1670—84. The writings of Fontenelle and his contem-

John
Locke.

Bishop
Berkeley.

poraries (1686) were mainly in their tendency unsettling; so also Montesquieu (1721—48), though not professedly opposed to Christianity. French infidelity derives its power and peculiar character from one man, Voltaire—the patriarch of doubt, the literary infallible pope of Frenchmen; and with reason, judging from a French point of view; and it is only from that point of view that we can do justice to one aspect of Voltaire's life and writings. He was born in 1694, and became a writer by the power of his unrestrainable genius. Visiting England in 1726, he became acquainted with the writings of Bolingbroke and the English Deists. One of his admiring biographers informs us that "from the armoury of these dead and unread free-thinkers" he drew "the weapons which he made sharp with the mockery of his own spirit."¹ This we much doubt. Neither do we think with Ueberweg² that he was chiefly led by the facts of modern astronomy (as revealed by Newton) to the conviction that the dogmatic teachings of the Church were untrue. It is not probable, either, that the so-called sensationalism of Locke's philosophy undermined his orthodoxy. The common-sense view of the case is that the Romanism of the Continent, with its abject superstition, and Protestantism, with its hard and dry, unspiritual, unsympathising theology, had already predisposed a keen wit, unattached to any school of faith, to that hearty enmity against revealed religion which was the leading characteristic of his literary career. It is remarkable that almost every Frenchman of note connected with the Revolution of 1789—93 had either visited England, or had been a student of English literature. We cannot deny the fact which his recent biographer Morley puts forward somewhat exultingly,

Montes-
quieu.

Voltaire.

¹ Morley, p. 88.

² "History of Philosophy," Vol. II. p. 184.

that "Protestantism was *indirectly* the means of creating and dispersing an atmosphere of rationalism, in which there speedily sprang up philosophical, theological, and political influences, all of them entirely antagonistic to the old order of thought and institutions" (p. 89). Protestantism is not the only good thing the blessings of which may be misused in the interests of evil. From 1726 to 1778 the life of this extraordinary man was, with some few exceptions, devoted to the literature of unrest and unbelief. Guizot's remarks are valuable, as those of an experienced Christian philosopher, historian, and statesman, and who, as a Frenchman, was not disposed to depreciate the glory of modern French literature.¹ "The avowed materialistic theories revolted his shrewd and sensible mind; he sometimes withstood the anti-religious passions of his friends, but he blasted both minds and souls with his sceptical gibes; his bitter, and, at the same time, temperate banter disturbed consciences which would have been revolted by the doctrines of the encyclopædists; the circle of infidelity widened under his hands; his disciples were able to go beyond him on the fatal path he had opened to them. Voltaire has remained the true representative of the mocking and stone-flinging phase of free-thinking, knowing nothing of the deep yearnings any more than of the supreme wretchedness of the human soul which it kept imprisoned within the narrow limits of earth and time. After the Revolution, it was the infidelity of Voltaire which remained at the bottom of the scepticism and moral disorder of the France of our day. The demon which torments her is even more Voltairian than materialistic." Voltaire's *direct* attacks on Christianity are found in the "Philosophical Dic-

¹ "History of France," Vol. V. pp. 291, 292.

Guizot on
Voltaire.

tionary," 1764, in his "*Essai sur les Meurs et l'esprit des Nations*," 1756, which, with other of his historical works, Lord Chesterfield so earnestly recommended to his son as an example of the way in which history should be written! It is a clever sketch of the world's history, occasionally incorrect in details, and miserably narrow in some of its speculations, displaying an ignorance and misconception of the mediæval ages, arising out of his Parisian tastes and consequent want of all intellectual and moral sympathy with that period of transition between the old classic world, and the Europe of modern times. It was made interesting to the sceptical reader by the sarcastic remarks on revelation and its supposed absurdities and contrarities, and is interesting to us as the first attempt in modern times to combine philosophical research and teaching along with the details of historical narration. In this it has been a model to succeeding historians. Few Englishmen of this generation have read it; the translation made of it nominally by Smollet (1761—9), and another a few years afterwards (1779—80), have never been reprinted. In fact, all the wit, and what there is of beauty, elegance and finish in the French original, evaporates in the translation. It is but right to give Voltaire credit for his advocacy of the rights of humanity, justice, and freedom. Occasionally he had glimpses of religious feeling,—witness the following lines from his poem, "*La Loi Naturelle*:"—

"O God! whom men ignore, whom everything reveals,
Hear Thou the latest words of him who now appeals;
'Tis searching out Thy law that hath bewildered me;
My heart may go astray, but it is full of Thee."

One cannot help lamenting the one-sided action of this great man's powers of sarcasm and ridicule, unequalled

since the days of Aristophanes. Had it been confined to the exposure of the false in religion and in social life; and had his moral sense and his faculty of discerning between the good and the evil in the Christianity of his day been equal to his ability to expose and hold up to derision that which was faulty, and had his marvellous influence been consecrated to sustain and commend that which was true and beneficial in the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of France, the religious, social, and political condition of that country, and of Europe generally, might have been very different from what it is at present. It is a singular fact that while Lord Chesterfield and others of his caste perceived clearly the tendency of the new philosophy to change the political régime in France, and foresaw the near approach of the great catastrophe of 1789—93, Voltaire seems to have had no such forebodings. His mission seemed to him confined to the higher and literary classes, to put down superstition and bad taste, and to correct glaring social evils. Of social reforms bearing upon the elevation of the masses, and of political changes of a radical and revolutionary character, he had no conception, except as philosophical reveries, altogether beyond the sphere of practical politics. The great work of the sceptical literati, the famous "Encyclopædia," twenty-eight volumes, with supplement of five volumes, edited by Diderot and D'Alembert (1751—77), received contributions from Voltaire, Holbach, Grimm, Rousseau, and others. Guizot describes it as "unequal and confused: a medley of various and oft ill-assorted elements, undertaken for, and directed to the fixed end of an aggressive emancipation of thought." This is substantially a fair description of a work which was at first regarded with suspicion by ecclesiastics and rulers,

but which our more educated and rational age looks upon as comparatively harmless. This publication, with the "Natural History" of Buffon, made science a means of spreading infidelity among the educated classes, not only in France, but in all Europe. Morelly, 1755, Holbach, 1770, Condillac, 1746—64, Helvetius, 1758, advocated the sensualistic school of philosophy as that most consistent with Atheism. Rousseau (1760—2), in his sentimental Deism, and impracticable political and social theories, did his part, some think the more influential part, towards the obliteration of old principles and current lines of thought. Of the French sceptics, from the Revolution to the present time, it is unnecessary to particularise, as they are all more or less of the school of Voltaire, minus his ability and wit. Comte, the father of the Positivist creed, and his followers, at present are supposed to represent the most popular and influential school of sceptical thought in France. But the outward fashion of that philosophy is always changing, while its substantial godlessness remains. Rousseau.

10. *Philosophical Schools of Germany.*—In Germany, especially, we may ascribe the origin and gradual growth of scepticism, and its strong hold upon the learned classes, to the reaction against the Confessions of Faith and the dogmas of the Lutheran and Calvinistic theology, which in their narrowness and exclusiveness surpassed those of all other Protestant Churches. Theological controversy tended to destroy the spirituality and practical character of Protestantism. It drove rational men from orthodoxy in belief, and led the way to a depraving laxity of practice. The Theosophists, Paracelsus, Weigel, and Jacob Böhme, 1550—1620, are proofs of the reaction against dogma in favour of cloudy speculation, which had the recommendation of

Syncretism.

Wolfenbüttel Fragments.

the semblance of spiritual aspiration. The miseries of the Thirty Years' War, 1618—48, were felt not only in the economical condition of Germany, but in the yet further decay of religious principle, morals, and education. An ineffectual attempt by Callixtus, Duræus, and Hartlib (1620—56) to reconcile the Protestant Churches to each other, and with the Romish Church, helped more the cause of religious indifference than of Christian charity, for Syncretism is rather the philosophy of politicians than of Churches. Men in that day, as in this, found it less difficult to be careless in matters of belief, than to enter the polemical arena to contend for logical niceties in religious truth, the bearing of which they could not clearly see. The teachings of Spinoza, as interpreted by the vulgar, bore fruit early. In 1674 a number of tracts were circulated in Jena by an obscure fanatic, advocating "the apotheosis of conscience—no God, no Devil." The two latter points are favourite topics with men of that class even now. Professor Musæus, the opponent of Spinoza, effectually answered these ravings. A revival of religion, under Spener and Francke, 1675—1730, to which ecclesiastical writers have given the name of Pietism, for a brief period drew the attention of Christians from controversy to the more important points of Christian experience and practice. Bengel, one of the soundest of New Testament Biblical critics, was of this school (1687—1752). The Deism of England, as exhibited in what are called "the Wolfenbüttel Fragments," was sown broadcast over Germany (1774—8), and gave an additional impulse to Rationalism in Biblical criticism. There were in all seven treatises, written by Reimarns, Professor of Oriental Languages in Hamburg, who had died 1768. He had been disgusted with the popular Lutheran theology,

and had, step by step, disowned the authority of the revealed word. The excitement which followed the publication of these "Fragments" was similar to that which in Germany in this generation followed the appearance of Strauss's "Leben Jesu," and, in England, the publication of Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch; the alarm of the orthodox being in both cases equally discreditable to their intelligence and faith. Lessing himself, the editor, did not approve of the doctrines of the "Fragments." If not an orthodox believer, he was "an almost Christian," but a "broad and advanced" one. In one of his replies to an opponent, he remarks that the Jewish and Christian Churches existed before their sacred writings were composed, and that consequently the Churches themselves were independent of the documents. All this is true, but he ignores the importance of a written revelation as a record and an evidence, as well as necessary to the conservation of the truth revealed. A favourite maxim of his was, that the pursuit of truth is of far greater importance in the education of the race than the knowledge of the truth itself; hence, in accordance with this sentiment, his avowed object in the publication of writings not in exact accordance with his own convictions, was to put in motion, to resuscitate into life and activity the theology of the age, and this he certainly effected; for from this time the theology and criticism of Germany, whatever may have been their deficiencies in other respects, have not been wanting in the interest which is excited by novelty and variety. German speculation never rests satisfied long with what is technically called "the latest result of modern thought." On the contrary, it is always bringing forth some new thing; novelty succeeds novelty, as in a series of dissolving views, ephemeral

and shadowy, which fade into nothingness as we attempt to give definiteness to their fleeting forms. Lessing was one of the most interesting of German philosophers. His treatises on the "Education of the Human Race," and other writings of his, exhibit a remarkable grasp and depth of thought, accompanied by high moral feeling. In judging the German literary and philosophical men of the eighteenth century, we must not forget to notice the prevalent irreligiousness, hypocrisy, and disgusting licentiousness and coarseness of all classes of society, not excepting many of the royal and princely families at that time. In the so-called Protestant governing families, religion was merely a matter of policy. Even the Electress Sophia, granddaughter of our James I., selected by the English Parliament as a specially orthodox Protestant to maintain the Protestant succession and Church as by law established, was herself altogether indifferent to religious belief; and her unmarried daughter was not permitted to belong to any Church, until the religion of her future husband had been ascertained.

II. *Influence of German Philosophy in England and on the Continent.*—In no one thing is the influence of national character more apparent than in the varied fortunes of sceptical thought in England, France, and Germany. The old English Deists were, for the most part, religiously in earnest. In France, infidelity became a mere fashion, a flippant thing, a mere outbreak of intellectual flatulency, or, as Carlyle would say, a windbag—but, in the long run, a political power. But in Germany, scepticism became identified with its philosophy; a philosophy in which the nation gradually invested the larger portion of its intellectual capital. To think and to doubt began to be considered as terms naturally synonymous;

the thought, and consequently the literature and philosophy, of Germany henceforth, with some exceptions, had one characteristic—that of unrest, a profitless activity, a ceaseless gyration, motion, but no progress; the mind ever seeking, but never arriving at a serious conviction of truth. (Another generation may witness the political influence of this philosophy upon the government and social condition of Germany.) And while in England and France the philosophical systems had no perceptible influence upon the faith of the Churches, or upon Biblical criticism, it was otherwise in Germany. The education of the people in its various grades, from the lower to the higher schools, has been practically under the influence of the teachings of the University of the State. And thus scepticism, instead of being a literary plaything, as in England, became in Germany poison for the schools in which young Germany is trained. And here we may remark, that the complaints of infidel teaching by schoolmasters in the schools for the lowest as well as the middle classes, which are found in Rose's "State of Protestantism in Germany,"¹ apply to the present times, to a much greater extent than is supposed. Recent demonstrations (March, 1878) of atheistic Communists in Berlin are the result of the so-called "philosophy" of the school teachers. Now that *property* is endangered, the rulers of Germany may find it wise to cease to patronise the sophistical teachings which defy not only Divine, but human laws. In Italy also there is no religious teaching in the schools—the priest is excluded—and this is enough for "the Liberals," who fancy that secular teaching may be carried on without dogma, and yet be free from scepticism. The schoolmaster may teach "philosophy" in every lecture

Rose on
German
Protes-
tantism.

¹ 8vo, 1829, pp. 174—178.

Influence
of Scep-
tical Phi-
losophy
on the
Schools in
Germany,
Italy, &c.

after school hours—and this teaching is generally of a very advanced character, opposed to Revelation, of course. Wherever there is, on political grounds, an absolute necessity for a State education purely secular, owing to Protestant sectarianism and Romish exclusiveness, the friends of religion and of social order will do well to watch narrowly and jealously the class of influences brought to bear on the common school-teaching especially. The priest may not be desirable as a sole exclusive teacher, but the sceptic is still less so. To teach secular truths in a Christian spirit should be the object of unsectarian education. No sceptic or Jew could object to this. The universities of Germany in the nineteenth century are about twenty-eight in number. The statistics vary, year by year, but the following are not far from the truth :—Twenty-one universities are in the Prusso-German empire, with 1,800 professors and teachers, and 16,222 students, of which 6,077 are students in philosophy, and 2,500 in theology: these 8,000 represent the future divines, professors, and school-teachers of the population. From this may be inferred the influence of the universities and their teaching upon the men of the higher and middle classes of society in the past century, as well as in the present. The teaching is in one word “philosophy,” which gives its tone to divinity and all other topics, Biblical criticism included—thus the mind of Germany is formed, guarded, and dominated over by professional lecturers, whose teachings, whatever may be their character, cannot, in after life, be easily effaced. The bearing of this teaching upon Biblical criticism, and religious belief, makes it desirable to give the opinions of some eminent men as to the character of the philosophy itself, which is the life and soul of German education. To define the protean word,

What is
meant by
Philo-
sophy.

we will refer to Dr. Henry Calderwood, who explains it to be "A rational explanation of things, obtained by discovery of their existence, or by showing why they exist."¹ Dr. William Fleming tells us that it is "the science of causes and principles. It is the investigation of those principles on which all knowledge and all being ultimately rest. It is the exercise of reason to solve the most elevated problems which the human mind can conceive. How do we know? and what do we know? It examines the growth of human certitude, and verifies the trustworthiness of human knowledge. It inquires into the causes of all being, and ascertains the nature of all existences, by reducing them to unity." So much for scholarly definition. Now, in the case of the individual man, what is his philosophy? It is his theory of being—his mode or principle by which he accounts for all phenomena, for whatever seems to him to be—his notions of the deep reasons which lie at the foundation of all facts. Now, the difference between philosophy and Christianity, as guides in the search after truth, is this—the former is restricted to the help of *à priori* reasonings, or human subjectivity, that is to say, to man's assumptions, or his consciousness; the other has the help which the light of Divine Revelation throws upon the mysteries of being and knowing.

Calder-
wood.

Fleming.

Let us now turn to (1) the opinion of Blakey, in his "History of Philosophy;" (2) that of Archbishop Whately—both of them bearing hard upon our Teutonic friends; and then (3) an extract from an apologist. (1) "The German philosophers had long disdained to speak as other men speak. We have had no trouble to decipher the language of the French, the Italian, the Spanish, and the Flemish; but when we come to the

Blakey.

¹ See Fleming's "Vocabulary of Philosophy."

German metaphysician we find him bristling with such an array of form and technicalities of speech, as render him unapproachable unless we comply with his own terms. We must attempt to think as he thinks, to speak as he speaks, or there is no good to be done with him. He has a way of his own with which strangers intermeddle not."¹ Blakey further describes the German mode of philosophising as radically different from our own. "We usually commence with analysing mental faculties and feelings, the outward manifestation of mind, and from these draw certain conclusions and inferences. The German philosopher regards this as a very humble and subordinate thing, and aims at doing greater things. He plunges into the deepest recesses of what he calls 'himself,' his inward and living principle, and demands why it is as it is? why he is stimulated to know the why and the wherefore of his own individual existence, as well as of existence in general. He feels himself perplexed and in doubt about the existence of Deity, the universe, and the human soul, and feels convinced there is a somewhere in nature when all this obscurity will be removed, and when we shall be able to see everything face to face, as in a glass."² (2) Archbishop Whately's remarks bear mainly on the obscurity common to all German philosophical phraseology. "These persons have been long accustoming their disciples to admire as a style truly philosophical what can hardly be described otherwise than as a certain haze of words imperfectly understood, through which some remote ideas, scarcely distinguishable in their outlines, loom, as it were, upon their view in a kind of dusky grandeur, which vastly exaggerates their proportions. It is chiefly in such

¹ "History of Philosophy," Vol. III. p. 327.

² Vol. IV. pp. 104, 105.

foggy forms that the metaphysics and theology of Germany, for instance, are every day exercising a greater influence on popular literature."¹ (3) We now give an able apology for German philosophy from "Aids to the Study of German Theology," by Matheson, a work of great value. The writer contends that the meaning of a German writer cannot be conveyed merely by a translation of *his* words into English or French words. The mind of England and France differs radically from that of Germany; with them the empirical (*i.e.*, the facts) predominate over the ideal; the testimony of sense is the standpoint. With the German it is otherwise; his thoughts flow not so much from without to within as from within to without, arising not from the actual, but from the resources of his internal consciousness; hence the characteristic subjectivity of the German mind and of its philosophy. The writer takes credit justly for Kant and his philosophy, by which the supposed impregnable bulwarks of scepticism raised by David Hume were utterly overthrown and destroyed. This merit for Kant's philosophy was first claimed in the articles on Madame de Stael's "Germany," which are to be found in the "Edinburgh Review;"² the remark on Kant is in the portion of the essay not included in the works of Sir J. Mackintosh, to whom the article is attributed. The "Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant," by Ed. Caird, 8vo, 1877,³ in reference to this important point is most satisfactory. In the "Critique of the Practical Reason," Kant uses the expression, "the Categorical Imperative," "to denote its (*i.e.* Reason's) *à priori* absolute and universal pronouncement in favour of moral

Matheson.

Kant.

¹ "Cautions for the Times," p. 497.

² Vol. XXIII, p. 235, and Vol. XLVI, p. 347.

³ See pp. 119, 120 — also Abbott's Translation of Kant's Critique of Practical Reason, 12mo, 1879.

good and duty independent of all prudential considerations.”¹ Kant’s admirers consider that his philosophy has superseded the Wolffian demonstrative method, and the shallow popular philosophy; it showed the inadequacy of speculative reason in matters not cognisable by sense, and referred men to the revelation of God within them. Schlegel most extravagantly asserted that the probable influence of Kant on the moral culture of Europe stands on an equality with the Reformation! On the other side there are those who think that Kant, in upsetting the scepticism of preceding sophists, cast away all the foundations of belief and introduced universal scepticism. It is a question whether the English mind is sufficiently subtle fully to comprehend these speculations. Matheson also states it to be his opinion that the work of German theology (and of its philosophy, of course) “is a long attempt to fill up the gulf between the natural and the supernatural which was left by the Kantian deluge.” We doubt whether any philosophy is competent for this. It is the virtue of *faith* alone (Heb. xi. 3). While, however, regretting the idolisation of human reason as the only instrument and means of arriving at the truth, and the consequent tendency in German philosophy (as also in certain schools of English philosophy) to ignore the claims of revelation, and to pander to scepticism, we cannot join in that indiscriminate condemnation in which many good people are apt to indulge. It will ever be regarded as a monument of the power and subtlety of the human intellect, wasted generally upon inquiries and labours from which there can be no results adequate to reward the outlay of mental power. As in the case of the painting, supposed by the spectators to

¹ Gardner’s “Dictionary of English Philosophic Terms,” 48mo, 1878.

be behind the curtain which appeared to hang before it, we may say, *the curtain is the picture*; or, in other words, the display and cultivation of mental acuteness is the main result of German philosophy, and of all philosophy which rests entirely on *à priori* foundations. We believe that the philosophical schools of Germany have exercised a most injurious influence on the thought of Germany, as may be seen in much of its theology and Biblical criticism. After these expressions of opinion, it is a pleasure to refer to two gems of thought taken from two of the German philosophers: one from Kant—"There are two things which excite my admiration—the moral law within me, and the starry heavens above me." The other from Goethe—"Let intellectual culture continue to progress, let the natural sciences increase in breadth and depth, and let the human mind enlarge as it will, it will never go beyond the loftiness and moral education of Christianity as it sparkles and shines forth in the Gospel." We can but mention the names of the leaders of philosophical thought in Germany after Leibnitz, beginning with Christian Wolff (1679—1754), and his followers of the Leibnitz-Wolffian school; Kant (1724—1804), and his school; Schiller, Jacobi, Fichte (1762—1814), and the Fichtians; Schlegel (1775—1854); Hegel (1770—1831); Schleiermacher (1768—1834); Schopenhauer (1785—1860); Herbert (1776—1841); Beneke (1798—1854); and we name them that some may be induced to look through the elaborate record of the strength and weakness, the wisdom and folly, of the human intellect, in a brief sketch by Dr. A. S. Farrar,¹ exhibiting a classification of German theologians, substantially correct no doubt, and in Ueberweg.² It is not

Goethe.

Dr. A. S.
Farrar.¹ "Critical History," p. 619.² "History of Philosophy." Two Vols. 8vo, 1876.

necessary for our object to discuss the merits or otherwise of the more modern scientific and metaphysical sceptical philosophies, Continental or English. The leading principles of these philosophies in their bearing on Revelation, have been fairly handled by a Roman Catholic layman, J. Stores Smith, Esq., in his lecture "On the Intrusion of certain Professors of Physical Science into the region of Faith and Morals," and by a Wesleyan minister, the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., in a lecture on "Theism as postulated in Philosophy and Science," both of which have been largely circulated through the daily and weekly journals; the latter has since been presented in a more permanent shape in "Discourses and Addresses on Leading Truths of Religion and Philosophy," 8vo, 1880.

12. *Influence of German Philosophy on Biblical Criticism.*—The sceptical Biblical criticism of Germany dates from Semler (1715—97) to Baur, of the Tübingen school, and Strauss, first of the mythic and then of the Pantheistic school. The leaders of sceptical thought in Germany pass away like Eastern dynasties—their power is short-lived. Eichhorn improved upon Semler's rationalism; Paulus offered naturalistic explanations of miraculous history. Strauss, at a later period, poured contempt upon these half-and-half doubtings, and courageously regarded the facts of sacred history as myths; severely handled by the learned Tübingen critics, he took refuge in atheism. The Tübingen school is now the dominant one. It leaves us in possession of certain portions of the sacred Scriptures which it deems *undoubtedly* genuine, and which of themselves are quite sufficient to establish the facts and teachings of the Christian religion! Thus Christianity is left master of the field by the confessions of its most acute anta-

gonists. As the opinions of these critics as stated by their more modern representatives will come before us in the following chapters, it is needless to catalogue them and their peculiar views. A full account up to 1827 of these critics and theologians may be found in "The State of Protestantism in Germany," by Hugh James Rose.¹ This book first introduced to the notice of the English readers the critical Rationalists of Germany. It is singular that the censures of Rose were objected to by Dr. Pusey in his pamphlets, 1828 and 1830, since then withdrawn from circulation. This gentleman is now well known as an orthodox High Churchman, the author of one of the best commentaries on Daniel and the minor prophets. It is yet more singular that the article in the "Edinburgh Review,"² on German Rationalism, taking the treatises of Rose and Pusey as the text, was written by Tom Moore, well known as a poet, but not generally so well known as a man of good sense and sound principle, as far as his light went. Nominally a Romanist, he was really a man of very broad opinions, unattached to any particular Church. In his article in the "Review," the rationalistic principles are fairly stated:—(1) The making human reason the sole arbiter in the doctrines of Revelation, its morals and duties, as well as in the evidences of Revelation. (2) The impossibility of the supernatural, natural laws being uniform and invariable. (3) Hence the rejection of all that is miraculous in the Scripture. In the course of our investigations into the application of "the Higher Criticism" to the interpretation of the Old and New Testament, we shall notice these assumptions, and examine in detail their application by the critics of Germany and their English

Tom
Moore.

¹ 8vo, 1828.

² No. CVII. August, 1831.

Duke of
Argyle.

copyists, from Dr. Geddes to our own time. It must be observed that, admitting their premises, (1) a direct revelation from God to man is impossible, for that implies a miracle; (2) that man, gifted with faculties and sensibilities of the highest order, has been left without a word of direction from his Maker and Moral Governor, notwithstanding the traditions of all ancient people and their histories, especially that of the Jewish people, a people whose separate existence, while scattered abroad, is a standing fulfilment of prophecy. The difficulties of the rationalistic theorists commence when they attempt to reply to the accumulation of evidence on the other side; then they practically find out the correctness of the remark of the Duke of Argyle:—"The most difficult of all difficulties is to believe that Christianity is not true." Consistent rationalism must be followed by universal scepticism. Such anarchies of thought are always followed by reaction to faith. Hence German rationalism has driven, and is yet driving, men of education and religious feeling into the Romish Church. In 1813—14 these perversions to Romanism began. About three hundred respectable literary professors in those years went over to Rome. If Biblical evidence is decried as unsound, men will look to an authority which professes infallibility. Hence the importance of a well-grounded conviction that the Bible of our fathers is the true and genuine written record of the Divine will. We have on this point a word in season from an inspired prophet, addressed to all puzzled and anxious inquirers: "*Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls*" (Jeremiah vi. 16).

CHAPTER III.

THE THEORY OF ASTRUC, THE MAIN SUPPORT OF THE HIGHER
CRITICISM, FOUNDED ON A MISCONCEPTION OF EXODUS VI. 3.

I. IT may be easily seen, from the brief retrospect of the progress of sceptical thought in Europe, contained in the preceding chapter, that the literary men of Germany, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, had been gradually prepared for the reception of a latitudinarian and sceptical criticism. We must refer to the first important movement in that direction by the theory of Astruc, the French physician, propounded in the year 1753 A.D., the full title of which is, "Conjectures sur les Memoires originaux dont il est permis de croire que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de la Genèse, avec des Remarques qui appuient on éclaircissent ces Conjectures." He imagined that the use of the names Elohim (אלהים) and Jehovah (יהוה) distinguished two principal documents used by Moses, that there were ten other documents employed, and that these were originally arranged in twelve columns, which, through the carelessness of transcribers, became promiscuously mingled; and that to this is ascribable the frequent repetitions and dislocations in the narrative. This theory, innocent enough in itself, has been made the main foundation of *the Higher Criticism* in its modern aspects. At first, Astruc's work produced but little impression, so that Scharbav, who replied to it in 1758, felt it necessary to

Astruc's theory of documents distinguished by the use of the sacred names Elohim and Jehovah.

J. G.
Eichhorn
adopts this
theory.

apologise for having employed his leisure hours in refuting such a "*systema ineptissimum conjecturarum*." The age was not then fully prepared for what then appeared to be so extreme a vivisection of the Sacred Books. J. G. Eichhorn first brought the theory into notice in his "Introduction to the Old Testament," 1780. Its advocates boasted that it opened "a new era in the criticism of the Pentateuch," and it certainly led to the introduction of a new nomenclature into the critical vocabulary. This diverse use of the Divine names had not escaped the notice of St. Augustine and Chrysostom among the Fathers, and of Peter Lombard among the Schoolmen. The Jewish Rabbi Jehudah Hallevi, Maimonides, and Abarbanel, had referred to it with great sobriety, as may be seen by a reference to Hengstenberg.¹ Let us examine the formation upon which the theory of Astruc rests, as it is the origin of the so-called "Elohistic and Jehovitic theory" of modern critics.

Founded
on a mis-
concep-
tion of the
meaning
of Exodus
vi. 3.

2. The theory rests upon a misconception of the meaning of the passage Exodus vi. 3, as imperfectly translated in the authorised English version. "*And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the Lord: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob by (the name of) God Almighty, but by My name Jehovah was I not known to them.*" On this passage, as thus rendered, the advocates of the principles of Astruc's theory take their stand, whether Rationalistic or Orthodox. Most of the German critics, with *Professor Lee*,² the *Rev. William Paul*,³ interpret it as asserting that the name Jehovah was then, for the first time, made known to the Israelites through Moses; and consequently, that the

¹ Introduction, Vol. I. 216, &c.,
Clark's Translation.

² Hebrew Lexicon, 8vo, 1840, p.
240.

³ "Hebrew Text of the Book
of Genesis," 8vo, 1852, p.
xxxviii.

occurrence of this name in the previous narrative in Genesis and Exodus must be accounted for on the supposition of another writer distinct from Moses, or else that Moses used the name proleptically. They contend that this is the natural meaning of the passage "which would be ascribed to it by simple-minded readers, who have never had their attention awakened to the difficulties in which the whole narrative becomes involved thereby."¹ Now these very "difficulties" of themselves, apart from other reasons of a critical character, render it all but impossible that this is the meaning intended to be conveyed to his readers by the writer.

Is it likely that the author of this portion of Exodus intended to contradict his own use of the name Jehovah as already known to his brethren in Egypt, and put into their mouths as a familiar name? (chap. iv. 1). Can we suppose that the Jewish critics among the Priests and Levites in succeeding ages would have passed by this contradiction without notice, had any such contradiction existed? But is it not more probable that to them the natural meaning of the passage would be that given by a more exact translation? Literally we should read: "*I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as El-Shaddai (God Almighty); as for My name Jehovah, I was not known to them.*" The insertion of *the name* in the second clause of the sentence in the Authorised Version obscures the sense, and forms no part of the Hebrew text. The words *My name* in the second clause, put absolutely, and followed by a verb with which they are not grammatically connected, should, in accordance with the usage of the Hebrew language, be rendered "*as for My*

Natural
meaning
of that
passage.

name." We have an instance of this in Exodus xxxii. 1, "*as for this Moses,*" &c. The legitimate inference is that as the name *El Shaddai* in the first member of the sentence suggests rather the character which the name denotes (Almightiness—all-sufficiency) than the mere name itself, so in the second member of the sentence, it is the peculiar character and relation implied in the word *Jehovah*, rather than the mere making known of the word itself. This meaning of the passage is given by all the orthodox critics of Germany, as Hengstenberg, Havernick, Keil, Kurtz, Delitzsch, and others, and also in the leading English commentaries; for instance, in "*The Holy Bible and Commentary by bishops and other clergy of the Anglican Church, commonly called 'The Speaker's Commentary,'*" which may be supposed to be a fair representation of the scholarship and of the opinions of the English clergy.

Bishop
Patrick.

3. That this interpretation of Exodus vi. 3 is not the result of an overstrained exegesis to meet the difficulties of modern criticism, but is that maintained by the older divines, will appear from the following extracts from the commentaries of Bishop Patrick and of Matthew Henry, written and published more than sixty years before Astruc had made the obvious meaning of the text a matter of controversy. (1) *Bishop Patrick* on Exodus vi. 1: "*But by My name Jehovah was I not known to them?*" Which name, however it was pronounced, some of the Jews imagine was concealed till Moses' time, who was the first to whom it was revealed. But this is evidently false, as appears from the whole book of Genesis, and particularly from chap. xv. 7, where, before He calls Himself *El Shaddai*, he saith to Abraham, "*I am Jehovah, which brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees.*" In short, the opinion of Renschlinus (in his "*Verb*

Mirificum") is far more justifiable ; which is, that it was revealed to our first parents, &c. . . . And it is to be noted that he did not say to Moses in this place, "My name Jehovah was not known to them," but "*I was not known to them by this name,*" that is, by that which it imparts, namely, the giving being (as we may say) to His promises by the actual performance of them, *i.e.*, by bringing them into the land of Canaan ; and in order to it, delivering them out of Egypt ; both of which He had promised in the forenamed chapter—Genesis xv. 14—18—and now intended to make good. And thus, Rabbi Solomon interprets this place, as P. Fagius notes, "I have promised, but have not yet performed." ¹ So also (2) *Matthew Henry* on Exodus vi. 3.—"*I am Jehovah,* the same with *I am that I am*, the fountain of being and blessedness, and infinite perfection. The patriarchs knew this name, but they did not know Him in this matter by that which this name signifies. God would now be known by His name *Jehovah*, that is, *first* a God performing what He had promised, and so inspiring confidence in His promises ; *second*, a God perfecting what He had begun, and finishing His own work." ²

*Matthew
Henry.*

4. In the present generation, the full meaning of this passage has been given by Dr. Adam Clarke, and by the present Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Wordsworth, in their respective commentaries. (1) *Dr. Adam Clarke*.—"I believe the simple meaning is this, that though from the beginning the name Jehovah was known, as one of the names of the Supreme Being, yet what it really *implied* they did not know. *El-Shaday*, (אל־שַׁדַּי,) *God All-sufficient*, they knew well, by the continual provision He

*Dr. Adam
Clarke.*

¹ Patrick, Lowth, &c., Commentary 4to. Bagster's Edition, Vol. I. pp. 198, 199.

² Commentary, Vol. I. pp. 294, 295. Royal 8vo, 1866.

Bishop
Words-
worth.

made for them, and the *constant protection* He afforded them ; but the name (יהוה,) JEHOVAH, is particularly to be referred to the *accomplishment* of promises already made ; to the giving them *a being*, and thus bringing them into *existence*, which could not have been done in the order of His Providence sooner than here specified : this name, therefore, in its *power* and *significance*, *was not* known unto them, nor fully known unto their *descendants*, till the *deliverance* from Egypt, and the *settlement* in the *promised land*.”¹ (2) *The Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Wordsworth*.—“Jehovah was known *by name* to the patriarchs, but was not understood in the *fulness of His attributes* by them, as the *Eternal I am that I am*, the Redeemer of His people.”²

John
Astruc.

So important is a right conception of the meaning of this passage (Exodus vi. 3), that it is desirable to quote from a few distinguished authorities in confirmation of the views here advocated. We begin (1) with the learned physician, John Astruc (1753), the originator of the theory founded upon the exclusive use of the Divine names. “Le passage de l'Exode bien entendu ne prouve point que le nom de Jehova fut un nom de Dieu inconnu aux Patriarches, et révélé à Moïse le premier : mais seulement que Dieu n'avait pas fait connoître aux Patriarches tout l'étendue de la signification de ce nom, au lieu qui il a manifestée à

M. Kalisch Moïse.”³ (2) *M. Kalisch*, a learned Jewish grammarian and commentator.—“Although the sacred name of God (יהוה) was already mentioned to them (Gen. xv. 7, xxii. 14, xxviii. 13, &c.), yet the true and deep purport of this designation was not *understood* and com-

¹ Commentary. 4to Edition. 1836. Vol. I. p. 329.

² Commentary. Royal 8vo. Vol. I. p. 216.

³ Quoted by J. M. Arnold in English Biblical Criticism. “The Pentateuch from a German point of View,” p. 50. 8vo, 1864.

prehended by them. . . . The knowledge of this name (Jehovah) was henceforth not the exclusive privilege of a few favoured individuals, but it became the designation of the national God of Israel, the appellation of the God of the eternal covenant."¹ (3) *John M. Arnold*.—"It must be borne in mind (in common with the passage Exodus vi. 3) that we have twice a solemn identification of the name Jehovah and Elohim, once at the beginning, when God entered into covenant with mankind, in Genesis ii., and again in Exodus iii., when God entered into covenant with Israel. It was, however, on the opening of a fresh dispensation on the latter occasion, that the name Jehovah became the *nomen proprium* for future ages. The expression, '*I was not known to them*,' Exodus vi. 3, cannot mean, as some suppose, that the name was altogether unknown before that passage was written, whenever that may have been. On the contrary, the sense is simply that this covenant name was not known to the fathers in its full meaning as *nomen proprium* by actual experience. This is the emphatic sense in the original, and is confirmed by Ezekiel xx. 9, and xxxviii. 23. The name of Jehovah was indeed known to the fathers, but the experience of the gracious significance was only revealed with the Exodus, when Elohim makes Himself known as the Redeemer of Israel: Jehovah then only becomes the name of the God of the *chosen people*, just as Jehovah, verse 15, was the God of the fathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."² (4) *The Rev. Dr. William Kay*, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.—To do justice to the re-

John M.
Arnold.

Dr. W.
Kay.

¹ "Notes on Exodus," p. 190. &c., from a German Point of View," 8vo, 1855. pp. 49, 50. 8vo.

² "English Biblical Criticism,

marks of this gentleman, it will be necessary to give nearly the whole of the third chapter of his "Crisis Hupfeldiana" (8vo, 1865). Referring to the erroneous interpretation of Exodus vi. 3, he remarks: "The chief cause of the mistake has been want of attention to the meaning of the Hebrew verb (נֹדַע). The exact rendering of the passage is, '*God spake unto Moses and said, I am Yahveh: and I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob in (quality of, or as) God Almighty: and (in regard to) my name Yahveh I made not Myself known (נֹדַעַתִּי) to them.*'" The patriarchs had lived under the guardian care of the Almighty; but, as regarded the special name of covenanted Mercy, God had not manifested in act what He had promised. That this actual manifestation of Himself by experimental proof is signified by (נֹדַע) is made perfectly certain by such passages as the following: Psalm lxxvi. 1. "*Known (נֹדַע) in Judah is God; in Israel great is His name:*"—the reason of which is given in the remainder of the Psalm. He "*had arisen into judgment, to help all the meek ones of earth.*" He had manifested Himself by fact. Psalm xlviii. "*God in her palaces is known (or ascertained) as a fortress. For lo! the kings assembled—and were dismayed—and fled.*" This sense of the word may be almost said to be formulised in Psalm ix. 17: "*Known (נֹדַע) is the Lord; He has executed judgment.*" These passages show that the verb denotes, not the communication of a new name, but the *making good in fact that which had previously been associated with the Name.* This interpretation is all but expressly put into our hands by the prophet Ezekiel (xx. 9): "*I wrought for My Name's sake, that it might not be polluted in the sight of the heathen, among whom they were; in whose*

¹ Compare the use of the French *en*.

sight *I made Myself known* (נודעתי) to them, *in bringing them forth* out of the land of Egypt." With so express a comment by a canonical writer, on the history of Exodus, there ought to be no further controversy as to the meaning of (נודע). *The whole context, moreover, requires this sense.* When Moses was bidden (Exodus iii. 15, 16) to go and say to the children of Israel, "*Yahveh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, has appeared to me:*" he answered, "*Lo! they will not give credence to me, nor hearken to my voice; for they will say, Yahveh has not appeared to thee.*" It never occurred to him that the people might say, "Who is Yahveh? We never heard of any such name. Why think to comfort us under our overwhelming sorrows, by bringing us a strange, unheard-of name?" His fear was, lest they should not believe that *the Person so designated* had communicated with him. . . . Thus the passage, read along with the context, is not only *not in contradiction* with the passages in Genesis which use the name Yahveh, but presupposes that the name had been known to the patriarchs. Over and over again it is, "*Yahveh, your fathers' God, is about to make Himself known to you.*"¹ So also Quarry and others,² Quarry. whom it is unnecessary to quote.

6. The consideration of the import of the Divine names Elohim and Jehovah may help us to account in part for their diverse use. Elohim is a plural of majesty, expressing the absolute fulness of the conception of Havernick Deity, and designates that Supreme Being who is to be feared—the Creator, the Preserver, the Governor of the world; the name, plural in form, though used as a

¹ "Crisis Hupfeldiana," pp. 18—20. Authorship," pp. 294—297. 8vo, 1866.

² Quarry's "Genesis and its

singular, was fitted to be a protest against polytheistic views, as in *Him*, the *one* God, all Divine powers exist. Jehovah (from the verb to be, to exist) is a proper name, denoting the essence of the Godhead in its concrete relation to mankind. This concrete idea of God is found only where there is a living revelation of God, when man is conscious of personal communion with *his* God.¹ Elohim is the genuine name of God, God as the infinite Creator and Governor of the Universe, holding the same relation to all creatures whatsoever. It is not necessary to endeavour to fix by etymology the meaning of the term. Such etymological endeavours are more or less unsatisfactory and often illusive. The word is employed to designate the Supreme Being; the word Jehovah comprehends this general idea, but has also a special and more limited signification—God brought into near and personal relations to men, and especially to His covenant people. While this distinction may not be always clearly defined, and while confessedly the one name is used interchangeably with the other, yet the difference between them is clearly evident in the Holy Scriptures.² It is, in fact, no more trouble for us to account for the occasional apparent indiscriminate use of these names by the Israelitish writers, than for our similar interchange and varied use of their names in theological writings or in ordinary converse.

7. The brief survey of this varied usage of the Divine names given by Delitzsch³ is to the point, clear and satisfactory. "Whereas in chapter i. Genesis, the Creator of the heaven and the earth is called *Elohim* simply; in the history of Paradise and the fall, not to mention

¹ Havernick (Clark's Tran.), p. 59. 8vo.

² Aikman "On the word Elohim and Jehovah in Genesis" in Dic-

kinson's Theological Quarterly, No. XVIII. p. 295.

³ Delitzsch, Pentateuch, Vol. III. pp. 511, 512. (Clark's Tran.)

other differences, we meet with the composite name *Jehovah Elohim*; and after this, the two names Elohim and Jehovah are used interchangeably, so that in many chapters the former only occurs, and in others again only the latter, until the statement in Exodus vi. 3, that God appeared to Moses, and commissioned him to bring the people of Israel out of Egypt; after which the name Jehovah predominates, so that henceforth, with but few exceptions, *Elohim* is only used in an appellative sense. Upon this interchange in the names of God in the book of Genesis, modern critics have built up their hypotheses as to the composition of Genesis, and in fact of the entire Pentateuch; either from different documents, or from repeated supplementary additions, in accordance with which they discover an outward cause for the change of names, namely, the variety of editors, instead of deducing it from the different meanings of the names themselves; whilst they also adduce in support of their view the fact that certain ideas and expressions change in connection with the name of God. The fact is obvious enough. But the change in the use of the different names of God is associated with the gradual development of the saving purposes of God. . . . The names Elohim and Jehovah are expressive of different relations on the part of God to the world. Now as God did not reveal Himself in the full significance of His name Jehovah till the time of the exodus of Israel out of Egypt, and the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, we could expect nothing less than what we actually find in Genesis, namely, that this name is not used by the author of the book of Genesis before the call of Abraham, except in connection with such facts as were directly preparatory to the call of Abraham to be the father of the Covenant Nation."

CHAPTER IV.

UNSATISFACTORY RESULTS OF THE APPLICATION OF ASTRUC'S
THEORY TO THE CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. The theory of *Astruc*, at first neglected and held up to contempt as "the most stupid of all conjectures," when countenanced by a great authority, became at once fashionable, and from that time gave the tone to the speculative criticism of Germany. The royal road, impossible in geometry, had been discovered in Biblical Science. Every tyro was now in a position to frame theories of the origin of the sacred books. The scholars have, however, in their zeal gone far beyond the master, in the application of his theories of the use of the Divine names, as indication of the existence of Divine authorship in Genesis and the other books of the Old Testament. To an observant student of the critical writings of the past century, it must appear as if the whole art and mystery of Biblical criticism was to divide and subdivide the earlier books of the Old Testament into separate portions, and to point out at will, section by section, as the productions of certain writers, unknown to the history of the past, the mere creations of critical necessity, to whom the uncouth names of Elohist Senior and Junior, Jehovist Senior and Junior, Deuteronomist, and Redactor have been given. The early historical books, as delivered to us by the Jewish Church, are distinguished by the clearness and simplicity of the narrative, but in this

Biblical Criticism, made easy by the use of Astruc's Theory, calls forth a series of Hyper-critical Hypotheses.

process become so many pieces of tessellated workmanship ; the order and manner peculiar to Oriental authorship is disturbed, and each book, without regard to the scope and object of the writer, is treated as a composition of brief passages, single verses, sentences, and even clauses, and phrases of one or two words, interlaced or interwoven in the original text, all of which have been selected from the several imaginary documents upon which they are supposed to be based. In the process of this critical anatomy, Quarry and Kay have shown that the subjectivity of the critics is sufficiently apparent. They imagine "cancellings," the object of which is to get rid of "difficulties;" they see "omissions" which might have been inserted ; "*inadvertences*" which might have been corrected ; doubtful points are settled *ex cathedrâ*. Bishop Colenso is so acute as to perceive the gradual improvement of the style of Elohist Junior. This is something like the power "to hear the grass growing," referred to by a learned philosopher. To give a sort of coherence to the several portions assigned to the Elohist, Jehovist, &c., the critics are compelled to resort to separations, not merely of chapters, but of verses, and of one and the same verse. Let any one examine and test by actual reference the tables of passages assigned to their several supposed authors, given by Quarry,¹ slightly altered from Dr. Davidson ;² and again tables given by Ayre ;³ and lastly, "the Synoptical Table of the Hexateuch," appended to the appendix of part vii. of Bishop Colenso's large work,⁴ from which the portion relating to the book of Genesis is taken. After this comparison, let the reader pause awhile, and ask himself whether he can admit the possibility of any such complete literary

Tables of
Genesis as
assigned
to sup-
posed
Authors,
from
Quarry,
Davidson,
and Ayre.

¹ Pp. 622—626.

² Vol. I. pp. 57—63.

³ Ayre's Vol. of Horne's Introduction, p. 551.

⁴ Vol. VII. 8vo, 1879.

Absurdity
of the
Theories.

manipulation in the composition of any books, much less in the sacred books of any people? If in any section of our printed Bibles the respective fragments of chapters, verses, and parts of verses assigned by the critics to the Elohist, Elohist Junior, Jehovist, Deuteronomist, and to the Levitical legislators, were distinctly marked by different colouring, the practical absurdity of the theory would be as obvious to the eye as to the judgment. No ancient writing has ever been subjected to such tortuous treatment. The unity, age, and composition of the Homeric poems have been topics of earnest and sharp discussion among the learned, but no critic has yet attempted a wholesale subdivision of sentences. The theorists have kept within the boundary line which separates the probable from the impossible. This has not been the case in the Biblical controversy, as may be seen by a reference to the tables at the end of this chapter, which are themselves the best refutation of the systems of their originators. To imagine the existence of two Elohist, one Jehovist, a Deuteronomist, and a school of Levitical legislators, employed at different periods in recasting the Jewish history and laws, and to have accomplished their work without the slightest allusion to their labours or their names, taxes too largely our capacity for belief. In the apocryphal writings, in Philo, in Josephus, and in the voluminous traditional literature of the Jewish people, there is no mention of them. The translators of the Septuagint Version do not seem to have had any knowledge of the bearing of the use of this or that Divine name upon the authorship of the books, and seem to have sometimes read Elohim where the Hebrew text gives Jehovah; their Hebrew text differed in many particulars from ours, which comes to us from the Masoretic redaction of the seventh century of our era.

Had we no other reasons, these are of themselves sufficient to shake our confidence in the conclusions drawn from the Astruc theory.

2. As the writer of the Pentateuch must have received his information of events previous to his own time, either by direct revelation from God, or from documents embodying ancient revelations made to the patriarchs, as well as the family histories of the patriarchal families ; and as no reference is made to express revelation of the history, we must, with Vitringa, suppose the existence of patriarchal documents, and it is possible that in some of these documents the name Elohim was more often used than the name Jehovah : but to point out precisely the Elohist or Jehovistic portions, or to recognise the patriarchal documents made use of in the composition of the present narratives, is impossible. Were we in possession of the original text of the Books of the Old Testament, in the *ipsissima verba* of the writers, even then the task would be difficult and the conclusion doubtful and unsatisfactory. Our present text is an unsafe guide on points in which verbal accuracy and minute niceties are essential.¹ We have reason to infer that the phraseology of the earlier books has been modified from time to time, to some extent, by the removal of obsolete words and expressions, their place being supplied by others of modern date and usage. And although our present text is a recension based upon a thorough revision of the text by Ezra after the Captivity, yet it is obvious from the differences in the phraseology, and in occasional omissions and additions found in the Septuagint Version, that of this recension there must have been various exemplars, from one or more of which, varying considerably from our text, the

Probable
Patri-
archal Do-
cuments
preserved
and used
by Moses.

Impossible
to distin-
guish
these do-
cumentary
sources.

Recension
of the
Text of
Bible.

¹ See Chap. I. par. 6.

Quarry. Greek translation was made. It is not necessary, however, to suppose with the learned Quarry¹ that there has been a complete modernisation of the old Hebrew. That such mere verbal alterations in the letter do not affect the substantial accuracy of the Sacred Writings is obvious, as they do not touch the facts or the teachings therein contained. *Bishop Warburton* has some valuable observations bearing on this point, in his defence of the genuineness of the laws of Zaleucus (660 B.C.) by Timæus, 310 B.C., against which had been pleaded the use of certain words belonging to a later period. "Let us see, then, the most that can be made of this sort of argument. And because it is the best approved and readiest at hand for the detection of forgery, and supposed by some not a little to affect the Sacred Writings themselves, we will inquire into its force in general. It must be owned, that an instrument offered as the handwriting of any certain person or age, which hath words or phrases posterior to its date, carries with it the decisive marks of forgery. A public deed or diploma, so discredited, is lost for ever. And to such was this canon of criticism first applied with great success. This encouraged following critics to try it on writings of another kind; and then for want of a reasonable distinction, they began to make very wild work indeed. For though in compositions of *abstract speculation*, or of *mere fancy and amusement*, this touch might be applied with tolerable security, there being, for the most part, no occasion or temptation to alter the diction of such writings, especially in the ancient languages, which suffered small and slow change, because one sort of these works was only for the use of a few learned men, and the principal curiosity of the other consisted in the

¹ Pp. 255—263.

original phrases ; yet in public and practical writings of law and religion, this would prove a very fallacious test. It was the matter only that was regarded here. And as the matter respected the whole people, it was of importance that the words and phrases should be neither obscure, ambiguous, nor equivocal. This would necessitate alterations in them. Hence, it appears to me that the answer commentators give to the like objection against the *Pentateuch* is founded in good sense, and fully justified by the solution here attempted. The religious law and history of the Jews were incorporated ; and it was consequently the concern of every one to understand the Scriptures. Nor doth the superstitious regard, well known to have been long paid to the *words*, and even letters of Scripture, at all weaken the force of this argument ; for that superstition arose but from the time that the *Masoret* doctors fixed the reading, and added the vowel points. I have taken the opportunity the subject afforded me to touch upon this matter, because it is the only argument of moment urged by Spinoza against the antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, on which antiquity the general argument of this work is supported.”¹

3. For this reason, we are satisfied that all conclusions as to the age and composition of the *Pentateuch* and of the other earlier books of the Old Testament based on purely verbal niceties, or on the occurrence of explanatory additions obviously of a later date (which have by the carelessness of copyists been introduced from the margin into the text), are most unsatisfactory. The exercise of the subjective faculty on points of minute nicety by critics may be used with some advantage in the case of a Greek or Latin author, as these languages

Age of the books of the Old Test. not to be ascertained by minute criticism of mere phrases.

¹ “The Divine Legation of Moses in Seven Books.” Fourth Edition. 8vo, 1755. Vol. I. pp. 117, 118.

possess a voluminous literature, which permits the opportunity of an exhaustive comparison, and thus affords peculiar facilities towards the arriving at probable conclusions: but in the case of the Biblical histories it is far otherwise; there is no contemporary literature with which to compare them, and the books themselves comprise but a small portion of the words and phrases of the Hebrew language—a mere fragment, the remains, however, of what was once a voluminous literature. *Dean Milman*, whose liberalism as a Christian and a critic no one can doubt, expresses the common sense of the English mind on this point, in a passage to which reference is made, chap. i., pp. 7, 8, in this volume.

Dean
Milman.

Great
variety
of Critical
Opinions
on the con-
struction,
&c., of the
Sacred
Book.

4. Another and very obvious reason for our scepticism as to the truth of the Elohist and Jehovistic theory, is to be found in the opposite and discordant conclusions to which the critics have arrived, as will be seen by a reference to the "Hypotheses of the Critics on the Construction of the Pentateuch" (Chap. V.). So great is the variety of these deliverances (all of them given as absolute truth), that it is no exaggeration to say that the reader may select out of half a dozen hypotheses of date and authorship, and, backed by the authority of great names, may be able to justify his preference to his own satisfaction at least. The theory in its application is what is vulgarly termed "*a nose of wax*." It may be made to prove anything.

Professor
Stuart.

Professor Stuart on this point remarks: "Each of these writers is confident in his critical power of discriminating, that he proceeds boldly to point out all the respective portions of the Pentateuch assignable to each author or supplementarist, not doubting in the least that the internal indicia exhibited by the style and matter are plain and decisive in regard to their several theories.

But here arises a difficulty. Let us admit (as we must) that both of these critics are fine Hebrew scholars, and very well read in all matters pertaining to the history or philology of the Hebrews; still the question comes up, how can these writers, each being sure that he sees everything so clearly, differ so widely from each other? Ewald finds internal evidence of a ground-work, from Narrators, a Deuteronomist, and of many miscellaneous compositions of others, that have been introduced by them into the Pentateuch. Lengerke supposes a ground-work, a Supplementarist and a Deuteronomist. The respective periods of each (some laws, &c., excepted) are different. And yet each judges from *internal* evidence and *subjective* feeling. Each is sure that he can appreciate all the niceties and slight diversities of style and diction, and therefore cannot be mistaken. Each knows (in his own view with certainty) how many authors of the Pentateuch there are, while still one reckons *six*, and the other *three*. And all this—*ex cathedrâ*, like a simple *αὐτός εἶπεν* or *dixit Magister*.”¹ Now we cannot believe in obvious contradictions, and therefore must withhold our assent to the conclusions of this class of critics and to the theory of Astruc, upon which they are founded.

We shall conclude this reference to the “Elohistic and Jehovistic” theories by a summary of the “arbitrary resolves,” in which, according to Dr. Kay, “lies the strength of this unreasoned criticism.” The satire is no exaggeration, but the literal truth. These “resolves” we may call the Ten Commandments of the destructive school of criticism, and in their line as characteristic of that school of critics as “the creed of a free thinker,”

Dr. Kay's
“arbitrary
resolves of
the un-
reasoned
criticism.”

¹ “On the Old Testament,” pp. 47, 8. Davidson Edition, 1849.

given in a preceding chapter, is of the class to which it refers. They are as follows:—

“It has been resolved by them—(1) To consider the sacred names, Elohim and Jahveh (the proper pronunciation of what we read as Jehovah), to belong to different writers, contrary to the evidence of the Book of Genesis itself, and to that of all later writers.” (2) That no author shall be supposed capable of writing on different subjects, so that, for example, an account of the creation could not have been written by the person who wrote the history of Joseph; because the same words are not used! (3) That the above difference of language shall be called a difference of “style,” though it has nothing whatever to do with style. (4) To fix upon certain words as “Elohistic,” and then to rend out of all “Jehovistic” sections every passage which contains these words, so as to “secure” it for the “Elohist,” a vicious circle which pervades the so-called critical analysis of Dr. Colenso from beginning to end. (5) To assume from the commencement of the “Analysis” that Genesis is made up of two documents, each of them a work of fiction! What wonder if one who looks through a tinted glass sees things in other than their true colours? (6) To overrule all difficulties which facts may place in the way of the “critical” theory, by supposing, *ad libitum*, the existence of *lacunæ* where there are none; of intended cancellings where none occurred; of interpolations, inadvertences, “clumsy” and “half mechanical” writing, and even contradictions. (7) That no events which would ruffle the smooth surface of *à priori* probability shall even be admitted to be historical, though genuine history is full of such events. (8) To consider a prophetic prediction to be impossible, and therefore to suppose that “all prophecies must have

been posterior to the event to which they refer," a mere unreasoned assumption. (9) To hold that any notion, however destitute of evidence, if only it be in the way of abstract possibility conceivable, shall be treated (under cover of the word *may*) as an admissible, probable, and at last, natural premiss, of our destructive argument. (10) That at all events we will hold the Book of Genesis to be non-Mosaic and its contents to be unhistorical.—In these and the like resolutions, not in logic or philosophy, lies the whole strength of (self-styled) criticism.¹

6. Astruc's theory, as applied by the higher criticism of Germany, and more especially by the more recent and extreme school, destroys the unity of all the books of the Pentateuch, as may be seen by the various hypotheses (at the end of this chapter and in Chapter V.). The English critics have improved upon their German teachers. Davidson sees four distinct authorships, and Bishop Colenso five. In opposition to this literary patchwork, many trustworthy critics, as Quarry, Keil, and Kurtz, think that there is observable in these books, and more especially in the Book of Genesis, a marked and consistent structural arrangement, consisting of a series of "generations," or histories, founded on genealogical relations, but in most cases embracing much more than the relations of family kinship. In one case the word ("Toledoth") generation, is used in a highly figurative sense. "*These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth*" (Genesis ii. 4). Besides the exordium in the Book of Genesis, which consists of chapters i. and ii. 1—3, Quarry makes eleven sections, the beginning of each section being marked, for the most part, by a brief repetition of so much of the previous

A structural arrangement in the Book of Genesis given by Quarry.

¹ See Dr. Kay's "Crisis Hupfeldiana," pp. 94, 95. Parker. 1865.

account as is necessary to make it an intelligible narrative in itself. There is also generally some note of time at the commencement of these sections to indicate the date of the narrative. This structural organisation, and especially the repetitions, so diverse from our usages, are so many proofs of the Oriental authorship, as well as of the unity of the book. Whatever documents may have been used by the author, they have been so welded together as to be practically one book, bearing the impress of one mind : this is a fact altogether at variance with the supposed complex authorship of the Astruc school of critics. The twelve sections (including the Exordium) are as follows : (1) The Exordium. (2) *The generation of the heaven and the earth*, from chap. ii. 4 to chap. iv., which concludes with the birth of Seth. (3) *The book of the generation of Adam*, chap. v. to vi. 8, where Noah is introduced. (4) *The generations of Noah*, containing the history of Noah and his family until his death, from chap. vi. 9 to the end of chap. ix. (5) *The generations of the sons of Noah*, describing their descendants, the dispersion of the race over the earth, from chap. x. to xi. 9. (6) *The generations of Shem*, in the line of Arphaxad to Abram, Nahor and Haran, the sons of Terah, from chap. xi. 10 to 26. (7) *The generations of Terah*, containing the history of Abraham to his death, Terah, not Abraham, being made the head, as the chosen race was to be derived—not merely from Abraham in the male line, but from Terah in the female line, also through Sarah and Rebekah ; this section extends from chap. xi. 27 to chap. xxv. 11. It seems strange that the generations of Abraham should not form a distinct title ; if that title had ever existed, its probable place was immediately before the last clause of chap. xii. 4. (8) *The generations of Ishmael*, from chap. xxv. 12 to 18 ;

(9) *The generations of Isaac*, from chap. xxv. 19 to the end of chap. xxxv. (10) *The generations of Esau*, from chap. xxxvi. 1 to 8. (11) The generations of Esau, the father of the Edomites in Mount Seir, from chap. xxxvi. 9 to chap. xxxvii. (12) *The generations of Jacob*, containing the remaining history of Jacob and his sons to the date of his own death and that of Joseph, from xxxvii. 2 to the end of chap. 1. and the close of the book.

7. When we come to the Book of Exodus, we find great need for rearrangement ; and much light has been thrown upon the right order of the narrative and laws, which in our present Hebrew Bible and English translation are evidently not arranged in the order of time. We quote from the work of the Rev. Benjamin Street, B.A., Vicar of Barnetby-le-Wold :¹ "The dislocation of texts is such, that he who would understand what he reads must either frame an order of sequence for himself, or adopt one suggested by some liberal critic. For instance, in the book of the Law, as it now stands, the law of divorce and the law of marriage run parallel ; the impression given by the common arrangement of the text is, that the Law contemplated divorce at the same time that it hallowed marriage, for Exodus xxi. 10, referring to concubines and divorce, is placed as though it were a supplement to the seventh commandment. Our Lord Himself had to interfere on this point, and tell the Jewish expounders of the law, that marriage had been from the beginning, but divorce tolerated, only on account of the inveterate perverseness and hardness of heart of the people. But the Jews had the book on the Law as we have, in such disordered arrangement, that they naturally supposed divorce as lawful a thing as marriage" (p. 49). "As the Book of Exodus is now

Street on
the
arrange-
ment of
the Book
of Exodus.

¹ "The Restoration of Paths to Dwell In." 1872.

ordered, we are required to believe that Moses wrote the book of the Covenant before he had been commanded to do so, but wrote none after he had been instructed to do it" (p. 65). A still greater evil is the confusion of the moral with the ceremonial law, "for in Exodus the separate and distinct sources of the moral and of the ceremonial law are indicated, or would be if the order of events governed the order of matter" (p. 55). "Now that the kingdom of God has been given to the Gentiles, and now that all nations are invited to enter into it, it is above all things necessary that it should be made to appear as plainly as it did at first, that the Lord set forth the moral law for His people wherever, and in whatever nation such might be found. These when He spake He called *My people*. But the ceremonial law was imposed on those whom the Lord called the people of Moses, *Thy people whom thou broughtest up out of the land of Egypt* (Exodus xxxii. 73)" (p. 55). In the view of Dr. Street, the law given on Mount Sinai recorded in Exodus xix. and xx. to verse 17 refers exclusively to the ten commandments and the moral law; and that the ceremonial law which follows the second giving of the tables is that which is recorded Exodus chap. xxxiv.; but that, by a "confusion of matter, the first abode of Moses on Mount Sinai, and the eternal moral law then re-enacted, are interpolated with passages describing his second abode on the Mount, and the subsequent temporal institutions of the Levitical Code" (p. 57). This opinion of Dr. Street's appears to throw a clearer light on the narrative in the Book of Exodus, and his views of the ceremonial law appear to be confirmed by the Prophet Ezekiel, who, referring to the ceremonial law as given after the idolatry of the Israelites in the matter of the molten calf, declares in the

name of Jehovah, *Whereupon I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live* (chap. xx. 25); so also in St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (chap. iii. 19), *Whereunto then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions.* The arrangement proposed by Dr. Street removes many apparent incongruities. He accounts for the dislocation and derangement of the original order, by a careless misplacement of the rolls by the priests in charge, by the fact that "in very early times the various precepts in the Book of Exodus were arranged in such order, as to exhibit precepts and statutes provided for particular cases of infraction of a law, in juxtaposition with the original law; so that the book was made one of ready reference for the judge who had to decide cases. The Temple copy exhibiting the original order and continuity, would decay or perish, and the only copies current would be then used by the judges on their circuits, or by the priests in adjudicating" (p. 50). The original order was probably Exodus xix., xx. chapter, verses 1 to 26; xxiv. chapter 1, 2, 9—18; chapter xxxi. verse 18; chapters xxxii., xxxiii., xxxiv.; then turn back to chapters xxi., xxii., xxiii., xxiv. verses 3 to 8; chapters xxv., xxvi., xxvii., xxviii., xxix., xxx., xxxi. 1 to 17; xxxv., xxxvi., xxxvii., xxxviii., xxxix., xl. the end of the book.

8. It is difficult for those who accept in all sincerity, what is sometimes called contemptuously "the traditional belief" of the Christian Church (because of the evidence by which it is established, and which cannot be set aside except on grounds which would justify universal scepticism), to realise the position and give due credit to the sincerity of the sceptical critics of Germany. That men of undoubted learning and ability, and of whose honesty we can have no reason to doubt, should

Different
stand-
points of
the Ra-
tionalistic
and
Orthodox
Critics.

have arrived at conclusions so thoroughly opposite to those almost universally received by their learned predecessors, and by many of their equally learned contemporary labourers in the field of Biblical criticism, is a startling fact. It admits, however, of satisfactory explanation. In discussions affecting the character of the Sacred Books, the disputants occupy diverse stand-points. The one belongs to the school of *faith*, the other to the school of *doubt*; the respective advocates start from a different position, they reason from different premises, and they naturally arrive at different conclusions. Take the case of the Pentateuch as an example: the question being, Is it to be ascribed substantially to Moses and his age, or to a much later period? The critic who as a Christian believer accepts the testimony of our Lord and of His Apostles on this point, enters upon the inquiry with strong prepossession. Nothing but the most positive proof to the contrary can shake his convictions: he is prepared to make all allowances and concessions as to interpolation, or omission of transcribers, or of revision by successive editors to meet the changes in the language, and by these he explains difficulties which to another remain inexplicable. It is otherwise with the rationalistic critic. Generally his training has been in the school of *doubt*; the literary and academical atmosphere of Germany has for the last century been redolent with scepticism. The first principles of natural religion are open questions. When the existence of God, of man's possession of a spiritual nature, and of immortality, are also regarded as doubtful points, the notion of the miraculous, and consequently the fact of an objective revelation, appears to him not only unphilosophical but impossible. The prepossession of the critic unconsciously affected by this

The
Orthodox
trained in
the School
of Faith.

The Ra-
tionalistic
in the
School of
Doubt.

philosophy, must be decidedly averse to the claims of the Pentateuch as an inspired record. And so with respect to the authorship and age of these books, ascribed to Moses ; the critic, thus prepossessed, will be disposed to attach a disproportionate weight and value to every word, and phrase, and fact in the text of the Pentateuch, which appears to point to a different authorship, and to a later date and origin, than that which is fixed by orthodox critics. This condition of the critical mind in Germany has been fairly stated by the Rev. Alfred Cave,¹ in a review of Wellhausen's "Geschichte Israel," to the following effect :—"There is one great difficulty in appreciating these theories of German birth. The premises do not seem to warrant the conclusions, and that, from two causes : the most dispassionate and unbiassed investigator seems to be in the position of the man who opens Euclid at random, and from ignorance of the preceding propositions, axioms and postulates, is unable to judge of the cogency of the propositions which meet his eye, apparently a logical sequence of solemn trifling. German writers assume too readily that because their views are rejected, they are unknown. . . . Only a laboured effort of the historical imagination can help us to barely understand these hypotheses. . . . With all their boasted scientific precision, these theories are the products of two factors, *data* and *danda*, reasons and bias, positions and prepossessions. For a well-learned Englishman, or Scotchman, or American, who is ignorant of recent Continental thought, to take up this book of Wellhausen's for example, is to breathe new air. He is an emigrant in a new world. His sense of proportion is awry. His judgment is at fault. Respect makes him patient, and

Rev. Alfred
Cave on
the posi-
tion of the
German
Critics.

¹ "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," No. 112, p. 253.

respect alone ; respect for his own truthfulness and respect for a great name. He feels that he can only breathe freely and judge rightly after a somewhat different constructive process. As he makes a laborious investigation into the sources of conviction, his mind clears, and he moves as a free man in the midst of this new environment, able to accept or reject at the bidding of evidence. Then two things become manifest : *first*, that the inferences drawn are not warranted by the reasons assigned ; *second*, that the inferences drawn only appear warranted by the reasons assigned upon certain presuppositions. The historical investigator sees a subtle rationalistic element veiling its distaste for the supernatural under the fact of science ; he becomes aware of a growing antagonism to the Mosaic authorship because of its supernatural claims ; he comprehends the widespread and semi-paralysing influence of great reputations, reader and pupil receiving with too loyal a love and too hasty an assumption the dicta of teachers of European fame."

These remarks will help the reader to understand the secret of the marvellous hypotheses of the critics on the origin and composition of the Pentateuch in chapter v.

Quarry's
Tables of
supposed
Author-
ship of
Genesis.

9. The following are the tables referred to (in paragraph 1 of this chapter).

TABLE I.—From "Genesis and Its Authorship," by Rev. John Quarry. 8vo, 1866. This and the following represent the *Book of Genesis*, partitioned among its supposed authors. In this table E. stands for Elohist ; J. for Jehovist ; J.E. for Junior Elohist ; and R. for Redactor. The Elohist is supposed to have been Samuel. The Jehovists wrote, according to these theories, in the time of David or Solomon. The

second Elohist is placed somewhat later, and by Bishop Colenso is considered to be the Jehovist somewhat improved by practice (J.E). The Redactor, or final Editor, is placed later still, and is by Bishop Colenso identified with the Prophet Jeremiah, who is called the Deuteronomist (D.); this writer, with (L.L.) Levitical Legislators, are adopted by Bishop Colenso mainly. The table itself is formed by Quarry from that of Dr. S. Davidson, which is mainly taken from BÖHMER.

CH. i. ii. 1-3 E.	CH. viii. 2 second clause, 3 first
4-9 J.	clause J.
9, "tree of life." . . . R.	3 second clause . . . E.
ii. 9-25, iii. 1-21 . . . J.	4, "the ark rested" . . J.
iii. 22-24 R.	dates E.
iv. J.	"on the mountains,"
v. 1-28, to "begat" . . E.	&c. J.
28, "a son" R.	5 E.
29, "Noah" E.	6-12 J.
remainder R.	13-19 E.
30-32 E.	20-22 J.
vi. 1-3 R.	ix. 1-17 E.
4 first clause J.	18, to "Japheth" . . J.
remainder R.	last clause R.
5-8 J.	19 J.
9-22 E.	20-27 R.
vii. 1-5 J.	28, 29. E.
6-8 E.	x. 1-5 first clause . . J.
8, "clean, and of	5, "every tongue," . . R.
beasts that were	remainder - 8 first
not clean." . . . R.	clause J.
9 E.	8 second clause . . . R.
10 J.	9-20 to "families" . . J.
11 E.	20, "after their tongues" R.
12 J.	remainder J.
13-16 E.	21 R.
16 last clause, 17 . . J.	22-25, to "Peleg" . . J.
18-21 E.	25 next clause . . . R.
22, 23 J.	last clause-31 as far
24, viii. 1, 2, first clause E.	as "families" . . . J.

CH. x. 31, "after their tongues" R.	CH. xxiv. 1—67, except last
remainder, 32 . . . J.	clause . . . J.
xi. 1—9 . . . R.	67 last clause . . . R.
10—32 . . . E.	xxv. 1—6 . . . J.
xii. 1—4 to "with him" . J.	7—11 to "Isaac" . E.
4 last clause, 5 . . . E.	11 last clause . . . J.E.
6—20, xiii. 1—5 . . . J.	12—16 . . . J.
xiii. 6 . . . E.	17 . . . E.
7—11 to "east" . . . J.	18, 19 . . . J.
11 last clause, 12 to	20 . . . E.
"place" . . . E.	21—26 to "Jacob" . J.
12 last clause, 13—18,	26 last clause . . . E.
xiv . . . J.	27, 28 . . . J.
xv. 1 . . . E.	29—34, xxvi. 1—5 . . R.
2—21, xvi. 1 . . . J.	xxvi. 6 . . . J.E.
xvi. 2 . . . J.E.	7—12 . . . R.
3 . . . E.	13, 14 to "servants" J.E.
4—14 . . . J.	14 last clause, 15 . . R.
15 first clause . . . R.	16, 17 . . . J.E.
remainder, 16, xvii. E.	18 . . . R.
xviii., xix. 1—28 . . . J.	19—22 . . . J.E.
xix. 29 . . . E.	23, 24 . . . R.
30—38 . . . R.	25 to "these" . . . J.E.
xx. 1—17 . . . J.E.	last clause . . . R.
18 . . . J.	26—33 first clause . . E.
xxi. 1 . . . J.E.	last clause . . . R.
2 first clause . . . E.	34, 35 . . . E.
second clause . . . J.	xxvii. 1—45 . . . J.
last clause . . . E.	46 . . . R.
3 . . . J.E.	xxviii. 1—9 . . . E.
4, 5 . . . E.	10—12 . . . J.E.
6, 7 . . . J.E.	13—16 . . . R.
8, 9 . . . R.	17—22 . . . J.E.
10—16, 17 first clause J.E.	xxix., xxx. 1—13 . . . J.
17 second clause . . . R.	xxx. 14—16 . . . R.
remainder, 18—20 to	17—40 first clause . J.
"grew" . . . J.E.	40 second and third . R.
20 remainder . . . J.	remainder, 41—43
21—34, xxii. 1—13 . . J.E.	and
xxii. 14—18 . . . J.	xxxi. 1 . . . J.
19 . . . J.E.	2 . . . J.E.
20—24 . . . J.	3 . . . J.
xxiii. . . . E.	4—9 . . . J.E.

CH. xxxi. 10 R.	CH. xxxi. 55, last clause . . . J.
11 first clause . . . J.E.	xxxii. 1, 2 J.E.
remainder, 12 . . . R.	3—21 J.
13—17 first clause . J.E.	22 first clause . . . R.
17 second clause . . J.	intermediate part . J.
18 E.	23 last clause . . . J.E.
19 first clause . . . J.E.	23 first clause . . . R.
second clause . . J.	remainder . . . J.
20 J.E.	24 first clause . . . R.
21—23, to "journey" J.	second clause . . J.E.
23, thence, to "him" J.E.	25 R.
"in the Mount Gi-	26—31 first clause . J.E.
lead " R.	31 last clause, 32 . . R.
24 J.E.	xxxiii. 1—16 J.
25, 26 first clause . . J.	17 R.
26 remainder . . . J.E.	18 first clause . . . J.
27 J.	to "Aram" . . . R.
28, 29 J.E.	last clause . . . J.
30, 31, first clause . . J.	19 R.
31 remainder . . . J.E.	20, xxxiv. 1 to
32—37 J.	"out" J.
38—41 first clause . J.E.	xxxiv. 1 concluding words R.
41 intermediate part . R.	2, to "saw her" . . J.
last clause, 42 . . J.E.	remainder . . . R.
43—45 J.	3, 4 J.
46—48 first clause . J.E.	5 R.
48, remainder, 50 to	6 J.
"daughters" . . R.	7 R.
50 remainder . . . J.	8—13, to "said" . . J.
51, to "heap" . . . J.E.	13 last clause . . . R.
to "pillar" . . . R.	14—18 J.
last clause, 52 to	19 R.
"witness" . . J.E.	20—26 first clause . J.
52, thence to "pillar" R.	26 remainder, 27 . . R.
thence to "heap" J.E.	28—30 J.
"and this pillar" . R.	31, xxxv. 1—4 . . . R.
remainder . . . J.E.	xxxv. 5 J.
53, to "us" J.	6, 7, to "him" . . J.E.
last clause, 54 to	7 remainder, 8 . . R.
"bread" . . . J.E.	9, to "Jacob" . . E.
54 last clause, 55	"again" R.
first J.	remainder—15 . . E.
55 intermediate part . J.E.	16 first clause . . . R.

CH. xxxv. 16 remainder, 20 first
 clause J.
 20 second clause . . R.
 21 J.
 22—26 J.E.
 27, to "father" . . E.
 "unto Mamre" . . J.
 thence to "He-
 bron." E.
 last clause J.
 28, 29 J.E.
 xxxvi. 1 R.
 2, to "Anah" . . J.E.
 "daughter of Zi-
 beon" R.
 "the Hivite," 3—5 J.E.
 6, as far as "went" E.
 "to a country" . . R.
 remainder—8 . . E.
 9 R.
 10 J.
 11—14 J.E.
 15—18, as far as
 "Jaalam" J.
 18, "duke Korah" R.
 19 two first clauses J.
 last clause—28 . J.E.
 29, 30 R.
 31—43 J.
 xxxvii. 1 E.
 2 J.
 3, to "age" . . J.E.
 last clause . . . J.
 4—10 J.E.
 11 first clause . . J.
 second, 14, to
 "again" . . . J.E.
 14, thence to "He-
 bron" R.
 last clause, 18
 to "off" . . . J.E.
 18 second clause . R.
 last clause . . . J.

CH. xxxvii. 19—22, to "upon
 him" . . . J.E.
 22 remainder . . R.
 23 first clause . . J.E.
 last clause . . . J.
 24—28 to "pit" . J.E.
 28 next clause . . J.
 last—31 . . . J.E.
 32 first clause . . J.
 second . . . J.E.
 remainder, 33 to
 "said" . . . J.
 33 thence to
 "him" . . . J.E.
 last clause—35 . J.
 35 last clause, 36,
 to "Egypt" . J.E.
 36 "unto Potiphar" R.
 remainder . . . J.E.
 xxxviii, xxxix. 1 to "Poti-
 phar" J.
 xxxix. 1, "officer—guard," R.
 remainder—20,
 "to prison" . . J.
 20, "place—bound" R.
 last clause—23 . J.
 xl. 1—3 first clause. . J.E.
 3 remainder . . . R.
 4, 5, to "bound" . J.E.
 5, "in the prison" . R.
 6, 7, to "were" . . J.E.
 7, "with him" . . R.
 8—15 first clause . J.E.
 15 remainder . . . R.
 16—23, xli. 1, to
 "dreamed" . . . J.E.
 xli. 1 last clause, 2—5, to
 "behold" . . . R.
 5 remainder, 6—14, to
 "Joseph" . . . J.E.
 14 "and—hastily" . J.
 thence to "rai-
 ment" R.

CH. xli. last clause, 15 to "dream" . . . J. 15 remainder—17 first clause. . . . J.E. 17 remainder, 18—21 . J. 22 "and" R. 22 remainder—24 first clause. . . . J.E. 24 remainder R. 25 first clause . . . J.E. second clause . . . R. remainder J. 26 first clause . . . R. second clause . . J.E. last clause, 27, to "years" R. 27 remainder . . . J.E. 28—31 J. 32 R. 33 J. 34 two first clauses . J.E. last clause . . . J. 35 first clause . . . J.E. second J. last J.E. 36—38 J. 39 first clause . . . J.E. remainder . . . J. 40 first clause . . . J.E. remainder — 42, to "hand" J. 42 remainder, 43 . . J.E. 44 J. 45 J.E. 46, 47 J. 48 J.E. 49 J. 50—52 J.E. 53, 54, to "said" . . J. 54 remainder . . . J.E. 55—57, xlii. 1—5 . . J. xlii. 6 two first clauses . R. remainder . . . J.E.	CH. xlii. 7 three clauses . . . J. remainder — 9, to "said unto them" J.E. 9, "ye are spies," . . J. last clause, 10 . . J.E. 11 J. 12 J.E. 13—20 J. 21—23 J.E. 24—38, xliii. . . . J. xliv. 1, 2 R. 3—34, xlv. 1 . . . J. xlv. 2, 3 J.E. 4—28 J. xlvi. 1—5 first clause. . R. 5 remainder . . . J. 6, 7 E. 8—12, to "Zarah" . J.E. 12 remainder . . . R. 13—27 J.E. 28—34, xlvii. 1—11 first clause J. xlvii. 11 second clause . E. remainder—27, to "Goshen" . . . J. 27 remainder, 28 . . E. 29—31, xlviii. 1 first clause. . . . R. xlviii. 1 remainder, 2 . J.E. 3—5, to "mine" . E. 5, "as Reuben and Simeon" . . . R. last clause—7. . E. 8, 9 J. 10, to "see" . . . J.E. remainder, 11 . . J. 12 first clause . . . R. second clause . . J. 13, 14 J.E. 15—19 J. 20 J.E. xlviii. 21, 22, xlix. 1—28, to "unto them" . . . J.
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CH. xlix. 28 remainder . . . R.	CH. l. 14 R.
29—33 first clause . E.	15—21 J.
33 second clause . J.E.	22, to "house" . . J.E.
remainder . . . E.	remainder, 23 . . . J.
l. 1—11. R.	24—26 R.
12, 13 E.	

Ayre's
Tables,
&c.

TABLE II.—Table from Rev. John Ayre's "Introduction to the Criticism of the Old Testament," included in Horne's Introduction, 8vo, 1860, containing the arrangement of the supposed authors of the *Book of Genesis*, by DE WETTE.

CH. i., ii. 3. E.	CH. xxiv. J.
ii. 4—iv. 26 J.	xxv. 1—21, 24—34 . . . E.
v. (29 interpolated) . . . E.	(4, 21, 25, 26? interpolated)
vi. 1—8. J.	22, 23 J.
9—22 E.	xxvi. 1—33 J.
vii. 1—10, 17, 23. . . . J.	34, 35 E.
11—15 (16 interpolated)	xxvii. 1—45 J.
18—22, 24 E.	46, xxviii. 1—12, 17, 20
viii. 1—19 E.	—22 E.
20—22 J.	xxviii. (21 interpolated). .
ix. 1—17, 28, 29. . . . E.	13—16, 18, 19. . . J.
20—27 J.	xxix. (31—35 interpolated) E.
x., xi. 9 J.	xxx. 1—13, 17—24 first half E.
xi. 10—32 E.	14—16, 24 second half. J.
xii. 1—4, 7—20 J.	25—42 J.
5, 6 E.	xxxi. 1—4 to xxxii. 3. . . E.
xiii. xvi. 16. J.	xxxi. (49 interpolated) . .
xiv. (a fragment) E.	xxxii. 4—21? 22—32 . . J.
xvii. E.	xxxiii., xxxvi. 43 . . . E.
xviii., xix. 28, 30—38. . J.	xxxvii. (23—30 worked in). E.
xix. 29. E.	xxxviii. J.
xx. (18 interpolated). . . E.	xxxix. 1—5, 21—23 . . . J.
xxi. (1, 17? 33, 34 interpolated) E.	6—20 E.
xxii. 1—13 (11 interpolated) 19 E.	xl.—xlvii. to 12, 27—1. 26 . E.
14—18 J.	xlvii. 13—26. J.
xxiii. E.	xlix. (18 interpolated) . .

The remark which accompanies this table applies

more or less to all of them: "It is not easy to construct this table with proper accuracy."

TABLE III.—Table from the Rev. John Ayre, &c., containing the arrangement of the Book of Genesis by TUCH.

Tuch's
Tables of
supposed
Author-
ship of
Genesis.

CH. i., ii. 3 E.	CH. xxiii. E.
ii. 3, iv. 26 J.	xxiv. J.
v. 1—29 first half, 30—32 E.	xxv. 1—11, 19, 20, 24—34 E.
29 second half . . . J.	12—18, 21—23 . . . J.
vi. 1—8 J.	xxvi. 1—33 J.
9—22 E.	34, 35 E.
vii. 1—10, 16 second half. J.	xxvii. 1—45 J.
11—16 first half, 17—	xxviii. 46, xxviii. 12, 17 . . E.
viii. 19 E.	xxviii. 13—16, 21 second
viii. 20—22 J.	half J.
ix. 1—17, 28, 29 . . . E.	21 first half, 22 . . . E.
18—27 J.	xxix., xxx. 13, 17—24 first
x., xi. 9 J.	half E.
xi. 10—32 E.	xxx. 14—16, 24 second half
xii. 1—4, 7, 9—20 . . . J.	—43 J.
5, 6, 8 E.	xxxi. 1—3, 49 J.
xiii. 1—17 J.	4—48, 50—54 . . . E.
18 E.	xxxii. 1—12, 14, 33 . . . E.
xiv.—xvi. 16 J.	13, 15—32 J.
xvii. E.	xxxiii.—xxxvi. 43 . . . E.
xviii. 1, xix. 28, 30—38 . . J.	xxxvii. 1 J.
xix. 29, xx. 1—17 . . . E.	2—36 E.
xx. 18, xxi. 1, 33, 34 . . . J.	xxxviii. J.
xxi. 2—32 E.	xxxix. 1—5, 21—23 . . . J.
xxii. 1—13, 19—24 . . . E.	6—20 E.
14—18 J.	xli.—l. 26 E.

TABLE IV.—Table from the Rev. J. Ayre, &c., containing the arrangement of the *Book of Genesis*, according to STÄHELIN.

Stähelin's
Table of
supposed
Author-
ship of
Genesis.

CH. i., ii. 3 E.	CH. v. 29, vi. 1—8 J.
ii. 3—iv. 26 J.	vi. 9—22 E.
v. 1—28, 30—32 . . . E.	vii. 1—10, 23 J.

CH. vii. 11—22, 24—viii. 5, viii.	CH. xxv. 21—xxvi. 33 J.
13, 15—19 E.	xxvi. 34, 35 E.
6—12 uncertain	xxvii. 1—45 J.
viii. 14, 20—22 J.	46 E.
ix. 1—17, 28, 29 E.	xxviii. 1—19 E.
18—27 J.	20—xxx. 16 J.
x. 1—7, 20, 22, 23, 30, 31 E.	xxxi. 17—44 worked over . E.
8—19, 21, 24—29, 32 . J.	xxxi. 45—xxxiii. 16 J.
xi. 1—9 J.	xxxiii. 17—xxxvi. 43 . . . E.
10—26 E.	xxxvii. worked over E.
27—32 uncertain	xxxviii.—xxxix. 5 J.
xii.—xvi. 16 J.	xxxix. 6—20 uncertain . . .
xvii. E.	21—xliii. 38 J.
xviii.—xix. 38 J.	xliii. worked over E.
xx., xxi. 34 E.	xliv.—xlv. 30 E.
xxii. J.	xlv. 31 to xlvii. 6 uncertain
xxiii. E.	xlvii. 7—12, 27—31 . . . E.
xxiv. J.	13—26 J.
xxv. 1—20 E.	xlviii. to l. 26 E.

Bishop
Colenso's
Synoptical
Table
of the
supposed
Author-
ship of
Genesis.

TABLE V.—Synoptical table of the Hexateuch separated according to the different sources. The Book of Genesis: from Dr. Colenso's "Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined." Appendix, Part VII., 8vo, 1879.

CH. i., ii. 1—4 ^a E.	CH. ix. 1—17, 28, 29 E.
ii. 4 ^b —25, iii., iv. . . . J.	18—27 J.
v. 1—28, 30—2 E.	x. 1—7, 13—32 J.
29 J.	8—12 D.
vi. 1—3, 5—8, 15, 16 . . J.	xi. 1—9 J.
4 D.	10—27, 32 E.
9—14, 17—22 E.	28—30 D.
vii. 1—5, 10, 12, 16 ^b , 17,	xii. 1—4 ^a D.
18 ^b , 19 ^a , 20, 23 ^a . . J.	4 ^b , 5 E.
6—9, 11, 13—16 ^a , 18 ^a ,	6—20 D.
19 ^b , 21, 22, 23 ^b , 24 . E.	xiii. 1—5, 7 ^b , 14—17 . . D.
viii. 1, 2 ^a , 3 ^b , 4 ^b , 5, 13 ^a , 14	6, 12 ^a E.
—19 E.	7 ^a , 8—11, 12 ^b , 13, 18 . J.
2 ^b , 3 ^b , 4 ^{ac} , 6—12, 13 ^b ,	xiv. 1—24, by a contempo-
20—22 J.	rary of J.

CH. xv. 1—21 D.	CH. xxx. 1 ^a , 4 ^a , 5, 6 ^a , 7, 8 ^{ac} , 9
xvi. 1, 3, 15, 16 E.	—13, 17, 18 ^{ac} , 19,
2, 4—9, 11—14 J.	20 ^{ac} , 21—24 ^a . . . E
10 D.	1 ^b , 2, 3, 4 ^b , 6 ^b , 8 ^b , 14
xvii. 1—16, 18—27 E.	—16, 18 ^b , 20 ^b , 24 ^b ,
17 J.	25—27 ^a , 28—43 . . J.
xviii. 1—12, 20—22 J.	27 ^b D.
13—19, 22, 23 D.	xxx. 1, 10—12, 48 ^b , 49 . . J.
xix. 1—26, 30—38 J.	2 ^a , 4—9, 14—17, 19
27, 28 D.	—48 ^a , 50—55 . . J.E.
29 E.	3, 13 D.
xx. 1—17 J.E.	18 E.
18 J.	xxxii. 1, 2 J.E.
xxi. 1, 6, 7, 21, 27 ^b , 28—31,	3—6, 13—32 J.
33, 34 J.	7—12 D.
2—5 E.	xxxiii. 1—17, 19, 20 . . . J.
8—20, 22—27 ^a , 32 . . J.E.	18 J.E.
xxii. 1—13, 19 J.E.	xxxiv. 1 ^a , 2 ^a , 3 ^a , 4, 6, 7 ^a , 8
14—18 D.	—13 ^a , 19—24 . . . J.
20—24 J.	2 ^b , 5, 7 ^b , 13 ^b , 25—
xxiii. 1—20 E.	31 D.
xxiv. 1—3, 9—37, 42—58,	xxxv. 1, 5—7, 16 ^b —18, 20 ^b ,
61—67 J.	21, 22 ^a J.
4—8, 38—41, 59, 60 . . D.	2—4, 8 D.
xxv. 1—6, 11 ^b , 18, 21 ^a —23,	9—16 ^a , 19—20 ^a , 22 ^b
27—34 J.	—29 E.
7—10, 12—17, 19—	xxxvi. 1—19, 31—35 ^{abd} , 36
21 ^b , 24—26 E.	—43 E.
11 ^a J.E.	20—30, 35 ^c J.
xxvi. 1, 6—16, 19—23, 25 ^b	xxxvii. 2 ^b —27, 28 ^b —35 . . J.
—33 J.	1, 2 ^a , 28 ^a , 36 E.
2—5, 24, 25 D.	xxxviii. 1—30 J.
17, 18 J.E.	xxxix. 1, 2, 4, 6—23 . . . J.
34, 35 E.	3, 5, 23 D.
xxvii. 1—46 J.	xl. 1, 3 ^b , 5 ^b J.
xxviii. 1—9 E.	2, 3 ^a , 4, 5 ^a , 6—23 . . J.E.
10—12, 16—19 J.	xli. 1—30, 32—34, 36—39,
13—15, 20—22 D.	44, 45, 47, 56, 57 . . J.E.
xxix. 1—23, 25—28, 30, 31,	31, 35, 40—43, 46, 48
32 ^{ea} , 33 ^{be} , 34, ^{bca}	—55 J.
35 ^{be} J.	xlii. 1—4, 8—38, 7 ^b , 6 ^b . . J.
24, 29, 32 ^{ab} , 33 ^{ad} , 34 ^a ,	5, 6 ^a , 7 ^a J.E.
35 ^{ad} E.	xliii. 1—34 J.

CH. xlv. 1—34 J.	CH. xlvii. 30 ^a D.
xlv. 1—15, 19—21 ^b , 22—	xlviii. 1, 2, 8—14, 17—20 . J.
28 J.	3—7 E.
16—18, 21 ^a J.E.	15, 16, 21, 22 D.
xlv. 1—5, 12 ^b , 20 ^b , 26 ^a , 28	xlix. 1 ^a , 28 ^b , 29—33 . . E.
—34 J.	16—28 ^a J.
6—12 ^a , 13—20 ^{bc} , 27 . E.	l. 1—12, 14—21, 26 . . J.
xlvii. 1—4, 6 ^b , 12—27 ^a , 29,	13 E.
30 ^b , 31 J.	22, 23, 25 J.E.
4 ^b , 5, 6 ^a , 7—11, 27 ^b ,	24 D.
28 E.	

CHAPTER V.

HYPOTHESES OF THE CRITICS ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE
PENTATEUCH.

1. The battle-fields specially chosen by the higher criticism of the last generation in its contest with the old evidential school, are the Pentateuch, and the Prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel. Recently, however, the critics have taken a still more advanced position, questioning not merely the genuineness of this or that book of the Old Testament, but relegating the Levitical laws, and all the characteristics of the Mosaic economy, to the period of the exile. For the present our business is with the Pentateuch, respecting which the leading critics are susceptible of a rough classification, each class being distinguished from the other by the leading principle in the theory advocated: these classifications referring to the earlier stage of the higher criticism, of which the fullest particulars may be found in Keil;¹ the more advanced stage, scarcely mentioned by Keil, being exhibited and considered in its proper place. The three leading hypotheses of the German critics are the *Documentary*, the *Fragmentary* and the *Supplementary*.

Battle-
fields
of the
critics; the
Penta-
teuch
Isaiah, and
Daniel.

2. The *Documentary hypothesis* did not originate with Astruc. Le Clerc, Father Simon, and Vitranga advocated this theory; the latter expresses his opinion that "schedas et scrinæ patrum, apud Israelites conservata,

Docu-
mentary
Hypo-
thesis.

¹ See Keil's "Historical and Critical Introduction to the Old Testament," Vol. I. 1869. (Clarke's Ed.)

Mosem collegisse, digessisse, ornasse, et ubi deficiebant complesse" (*Observationes Sacræ*). *Eichhorn's* patronage of *Astruc's* theory gave it currency and popularity. *Michaelis*, while accepting the theory, inclined towards the Fragmentary hypothesis. *Ilgen* (1798) found two Elohistic and one Jehovistic document. *Kelle* (1812) supposed an original document enlarged at a later period. *Gramberg* (1828) contends that in Genesis there are three documents, one Jehovistic, one Elohistic, and one by the compiler, by whom the others have been modified. *Stähelin* (1830) sees two documents in Genesis, all arranged by the compiler, who when unable to harmonise the several accounts left them as he found them. *Bertholdt* thought the original substance of Genesis was to be found in chaps. v. to xxxiii., but that these have undergone subsequent enlargement, while the other books were brought into their present form by various writers. *Hupfield* has recently (1853) returned to his original view, which scarcely differs from that of *Ilgen*. It is difficult to classify the opinions of the critics, from the difficulty of perceiving the exact line of demarcation, and from the natural occurrence of changes of opinion in the critics themselves.

Frag-
mentary
Hypo-
thesis.

3. The *Fragmentary hypothesis* was suggested by *Möller* in 1798. It assumes that the Pentateuch originated in a series of old laws and of old fragments collected and put together in the time of David and Solomon, and that the work so compiled was the basis of the present Book of Deuteronomy, which is thought to be the book discovered in the reign of Josiah; the rest of the Pentateuch being compiled between the time of Josiah and the exile. *Vater* advocated this theory in 1805, and *Hartmann* in 1818. *Vater* thought that a considerable part of Deuteronomy was in writing in the age of David

or Solomon. *Augusti* agreed with Vater, 1806. *Baron Bunsen* and the Dutch critic *Kucuen* may be classed as the supporters of this hypothesis, as they think the Pentateuch was first composed in the days of the kings (800 B.C.) from fragments of laws and records.

4. The *Supplementary hypothesis* supposes *one* document to be the basis of the Pentateuch, to which supplementary additions have been made, and in which various particulars of later date had been incorporated; the Elohist document being the most ancient and the foundation of the work; the Jehovist making use of the preceding, adding to it or abridging, and incorporating with it his own material. There is, however, no agreement among the advocates of this theory in the details of these processes. *Stähelin* assigns the first four books of the Pentateuch to the Elohist in the time of the Judges, the Book of Deuteronomy to the Jehovist in the time of Saul. *De Wette* traces the Elohist document to the time of David or Solomon, the Jehovist to the period of the later kings (624 B.C.). *Lengerke* places the Elohist in the time of Solomon, the Jehovist in that of Hezekiah. *Tuch* places the Elohist in the time of Saul, the Jehovist in the time of Solomon. *Killisch* places the Elohist in the time of David. *Hupfield* finds traces of three authors in Genesis: an earlier and later Elohist, a Jehovist quite independent of the others, and all these welded into one by a later editor. *Vaihinger* agrees with Hupfield as to the first four books and chaps. xxxii. and xxxiv. of Deuteronomy, but ascribes the rest of Deuteronomy to a later writer; the earlier Elohist he supposes to have written 1,200 B.C., the later 1,000 B.C., the Deuteronomist in the days of Hezekiah. With a great variety of opinion as to the precise number, order and date of these documents and

Supple-
mentary
Hypo-
thesis.

supplements, this theory may claim for its advocates *Gesenius*, *Von Bohlen*, *Wegscheider*, *Doederlin*, *Knobel*, *Boehmer*, *Hitzig*, and others. *Bleek* thinks that there is a considerable portion of the Pentateuch which cannot be later than the Mosaic age, such as the songs and the laws, and that there is nothing to lead us to infer that the last redaction took place after the exile. He thinks that the Elohists must have been written before the tribe of Judah attained to pre-eminence, and that the Deuteronomist wrote either in the age of Ahaz or Hezekiah. *Von Bohlen*, *Vatke* and *George* assign Deuteronomy to the age of Josiah, and therefore it was the earliest of the five books. *Bertheau* (1840) thinks that the three middle books, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, are a genuine collection of laws, either written by Moses or preserved by tradition; all these made seven groups, each of seven series of ten laws: the other laws he considered to be later, and the history much later. *Ewald* has a plan peculiarly his own. In his opinion it is the result of a compilation of several authors found in "The Great Book of Origins or Primitive History," which comprise the present Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. Thus: (1) the book of the wars of Jehovah; (2) a life of Moses (of these two only a few fragments remain); (3) the book of the Covenant, written in the time of Samson; (4) the book of Origins, written by a priest in the time of Solomon; (5) a subject of the Northern kingdom, who wrote in the days of Elijah and Joel; (6) the sixth author lived about 800—700 B.C.; (7) the seventh author lived not long after Joel, and collected the writings of his predecessors; (8) then a writer at the beginning of the seventh century before Christ; (9) then the Deuteronomist who flourished in the time of Manasseh and lived in Egypt; (10) in the time of Jeremiah the poet

lived who wrote the blessing of Moses which we now find in Deuteronomy; (11) a later editor incorporated Deuteronomy and the other works of his predecessors, and thus the whole Pentateuch was the production of *eleven* writers, of whom the Jewish records and traditions know nothing. And yet we are required to believe that such a bundle of anonymous writings somehow obtained general acceptance among the Jewish priests and people! At one time Ewald's hypothesis was considered as having exhausted the power of critical imagination. But this is far from being the case. Since Ewald, we have had wilder and more improbable theories from *Graf*, *Kuenen*, *Schultz* and *Wellhausen* (of which more hereafter in chapters viii., ix.).

5. There are a fair number of learned critics of the last and present generation whose views scarcely admit of being classed with either of the three leading theories; for instance, *Fulda* (1788), *Corrodi* (1792), *Nachtigal* (1794), who first dared to hint that Jeremiah was the author of the Pentateuch including Deuteronomy (1794), *Bauer* (1801), *Paulus* (1804), and others, all of whom objected either on dogmatic or critical grounds to the commonly-received opinion of the Churches. The theory of *De Wette-Schrader*, as given in *Max-Duncker's* "History of Antiquity" (1877), supposes a Judean text of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua to have been composed in the first decade of the reign of David, within the circle of a priestly family which claimed to have sprung from Aaron, the brother of Moses. This text deals with the career and connection of Israel and its fortunes, with the covenant between Jehovah and Israel, and the Law. The unity of religious worship, through the centralisation of the altar at one place, could not have taken place until political unity had been obtained.

Unclassified
Hypotheses.

De
Wette-
Schrader.

The law for the priests, and the minute details of ritual, were, in the view of the priests, coeval with the departure from Egypt, though in reality only a few of the fundamental precepts reached so far back. In the latter half of Solomon's reign (970—950 B.C.) a second text arose, which could hardly have been composed in priestly circles, and certainly did not come from Judah. It lays stress upon the Divine guidance and manifestation to the race, and ascribes peculiar importance to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. A century afterwards, about the middle of the ninth century before Christ, both these texts were combined into one work by the Jahvist, who was guided by the feelings and views of the prophets. He has added some sections collected from tradition or written records. In this shape were compiled the first four books of the Pentateuch, and the beginning and end of the *fifth* book, with the Book of Joshua in the time of the prophets Amos and Hosea; Deuteronomy, from chap. iv. 44 to chap. xxxviii. 69, was written in the time of Josiah by some one who had revised the Book of Joshua. After this statement in agreement with the fashionable theories of the critics, the historian proceeds with comments which rather point to a conclusion somewhat different from that of his authority, De Wette-Schrader. "If we compare the Hebrew account of the Creation with the cosmogonies of Berosus and Philo, and the narrative of Noah's deluge with the description of the flood on the Assyrian tablets and in Berosus, we see at the first glance how far asunder the conceptions lie—with what clearness and vigour the Hebrews have succeeded in purifying and exalting the rude fancies of the nations so closely akin to them—the ancient common possession of the Eastern Semitic tribes, from whom the Hebrews were sprung. This power—the patient labour,

Superiority
of the
Hebrew
conception
of morals
and reli-
gion.

the serious and thoughtful effort to deepen the traditions of the past into an ethical significance, to sublimate legends into simple moral teachers, and transplant the myth into the region of moral earnestness and moral purpose—to pass beyond the rude naturalism of their kinsmen into the supernatural—from the varied polytheism of Babel and Canaan to monotheism—this it is which gives to the Hebrews the first place, and not among Semitic nations only, in the sphere of religious feeling and development. At a later period the Greeks understood how to breathe life, beauty, and nobility into the gods of the Phœnicians, whose rites came over to Hellas; they could change Ashera-Bilit, the goddess of prostitution, into the youthful Aprodite, the goddess of blooming grace, and the highest charm of love; but the Hebrews practised the severer, sterner, and loftier task of carrying religious feeling beyond the life of nature—of conceiving the highest power as morally in opposition to natural impulses and forces, of publishing the supremacy of the intellectual and moral over the natural being.”¹ After these eloquent and striking remarks it is marvellous that the historian had not asked himself, What caused this remarkable difference between the Hebrew theology and that of their neighbours and conquerors? How was the Hebrew enabled to purify and exalt their rude fancies, and give them an ethical significance?—or to transplant the myth into the region of moral earnestness and moral purpose? What made them capable of “the loftier task of carrying religious feeling beyond the life of nature, and of conceiving the highest power as morally in opposition to natural impulses and forces, and of publishing the supremacy of the intellectual and moral over the natural being?”

¹ Max Duncker’s “History of Antiquity,” Vol. I. pp. 387—8.

Again, when referring to the "moral rules set up in Egypt," the historian states that, "For his people, Moses collected the foundations of moral and religious law into a simpler, purer, deeper, and more earnest form in the ten commandments. In connecting the moral law with the worship of Jehovah, its inseparable foundation, and setting it up with passionate earnestness as the immediate command of the God of Israel, Moses imparted to his people that character of religious earnestness and ethical struggling which distinguishes their history from that of any other nation."¹ Is there not a mystery about this evident spiritual and moral superiority of the Mosaic law, a mystery inexplicable except in the admission of a higher teaching from Him from whom Moses received his call to be the leader and legislator of the Israelitish people? It is singular that with these convictions of the superiority of the Mosaic teachings, the historian follows the old beaten course of the sceptical critics, and sets aside all the Hebrew records of the past history of the people as productions of a later age, and, contrary to the well-founded opinion of most chronologists, lowers the date of the entrance of the Israelites into Egypt and of their departure by several centuries. Another criticism, which may be regarded as a sort of Irenicon, is by *Delitzsch*, according to whom Moses wrote Deuteronomy in the presence of the people of Israel (Deut. xxxi., Joshua viii. 32); the intermediate books attribute to Moses only the recording a series of laws and the summary of the encampments. Hence he thinks it obvious that the kernel, or first groundwork of the Pentateuch, is the Book of the Covenant, which was written by Moses himself, now wrought up into the connected history of the legislation (Exodus xix.—xxiv.). The rest

De-
litzsch's
Irenicon.

¹ Duncker's "History of Antiquity," Vol I. pp. 484—5.

of the laws in the wilderness of Sinai, and on the plains of Moab, were published by Moses orally, but were recorded in the written form by the priests, whose business this was (Deut. xvii. 11, &c.), yet not necessarily during the journey through the wilderness. It was on the soil of the Holy Land that the history of Israel, which had now reached one termination, had to be written. But to write the history of the Mosaic age, it became necessary, of course, to take up, and so to record the Mosaic legislation in its entire compass. A man like Eleazer, the son of Aaron, the High Priest, wrote the whole book, which began with Genesis i. 1., into which he introduced the Book of the Covenant, and perhaps gave only a short account of the last addresses of Moses, since Moses had recorded these with his own hand. Another, like Joshua, or one of those elders upon whom the spirit of Moses rested, supplemented this work, and incorporated with it the whole of Deuteronomy, which indeed had been his own model. This now has been substantially adopted by *Kurtz* (1855), who objects to the supposed earlier origin of Deuteronomy, and thinks that the rest of the Pentateuch was written in the desert and not in the Holy Land. *Schultz*, in an earlier work, and in 1869, recognises the original documents in the Pentateuch, the Elohist being the base and groundwork of the whole, but contends the Jehovist portion of the first four books, as well as Deuteronomy (excepting the concluding portion), was written by Moses. He has, however, considerably altered his views, and to this, his present opinion, we shall refer in due course.

Kurtz.

6. Before adding to this catalogue of the German critics, the more recent and more advanced class (alluded to in the close of the fourth paragraph), it will be desirable to refer to the English critics, for the most part

English Critics.

Geddes. mere copyists of the German school. (1) *Dr. Alexander Geddes*, a Romish priest, of whom an interesting biography has been written by J. Mason Good. "The Commentary and Critical Remarks,"¹ is the first of English commentaries which refers to Astruc, Eichhorn, and Michaelis. Dr. Geddes thinks that the Pentateuch in its present form was not the work of Moses, but that it was written in Jerusalem between the time of David and Hezekiah. This commentary was severely handled by Bishop Horsley in the "British Critic." (2) *Dr. F. W. Donaldson*, a classical scholar and philologist of high character, somewhat rashly and prematurely put forth the results of his Biblical studies in the publication of what he entitled "The Book of Jasher," so called after the document referred to in Joshua x. 13, which he considered to be the pith and marrow of the Old Testament, the rest being a "farrago of many ages." This compression of the whole Bible into the space now occupied by about twenty-four chapters, found no favour with the learned. Being written in Latin, we may charitably hope that it was intended, like the well-known "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*," of the early part of the sixteenth century, to be a satire on the extreme views of the critical school. (3) The writers of the "Essays and Reviews,"² the writers being seven members of the University of Oxford, and some of them clergymen. They advanced nothing which had not been advocated by the advanced school of that day, but which the same school would now regard as out of date. At first these essays created no remarks, until public attention was called to the fact of such extreme views being advocated by distinguished clergymen of the Church of England. The replies, like the "Essays" themselves,

Dr.
Donald-
son.

"Essays
and
Reviews."

¹ Three vols., 4to. 1792—1800.

² Published in 1861.

were numerous, and of very unequal merit. These "Essays" drew the attention of the Churches to the large amount of speculative literary scepticism prevalent among a certain class in the higher walks of society. The stagnancy of the Churches, and the indifference to the criticism of the Scriptures, were disturbed by this publication, and yet more so by a work written by an Anglican bishop, an attack nominally on the Books of Moses and the Book of Joshua, but in reality upon the entire series of the historical books of the Old Testament. (4) *Dr. F. W. Colenso*, Bishop of Natal, published in 1862 the *first* part of a series, entitled "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined." Five additional parts followed in rapid succession in 1863—72. After these six large treatises appeared, 1871—4, containing an examination of the Bible Commentary sanctioned by the bishops and clergy of the Established Church, commonly called the "Speaker's Commentary;" then lectures on the Pentateuch and Moabite Stone; and in 1879 the last part of his critical book appeared, in which he has completed his researches, and hopes they may clear the way for the more thorough knowledge of the composition and age of the different books of the Pentateuch.

Bishop
Colenso.

Briefly but fully we shall endeavour to present Bishop Colenso's views, advocated with great learning and earnestness, the result of a minute investigation of the Old Testament records, carried on during the space of eighteen years, and published in eight parts, *i.e.* 8vo volumes, besides the seven treatises on the Bible Commentary. However we may differ from the bishop's conclusions, we must in justice admit the marked ability and sincerity of purpose which characterise all his writings. So far as we can judge, there is nothing in

the whole range of German critical inquiry into the origin and character of the Sacred Books so thorough, full, and exhaustive on the rationalistic side, as the work entitled "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined."¹ Availing himself (as every Biblical critic must) of the labours of his predecessors in Germany, and Holland, and England, he is no mere copyist or servile imitator, differing freely at times from his learned collaborateurs in the same field. Unlike many of the higher critics of Germany, he writes as if he knew his own meaning; and as he writes in plain English, it is satisfactory that, whether we agree with him or not, we cannot fail to understand what he means.

a. Dr. Colenso assumes the correctness of the Elohist and Jehovistic theory, the result of that of Astruc's; and mainly, *but not exclusively*, on this distinct use of the Divine names, he points out the various authors to whose labours we are in his opinion indebted for the larger portion of the earlier books of the Old Testament. It is desirable to give his own full statement: "What I mean is this, that the Elohist matter in Genesis is not distinguished from the rest by critics *merely* by noting the use of the Divine name; for here (Genesis ix. 28, 29) we find the verses which are clearly seen, from a comparison with Genesis v., to belong to the Elohist; but which do not contain Elohim at all. On the other hand, there are passages in which Elohim frequently occurs, sometimes even exclusively, without any mention of the name of Jehovah, but which are clearly seen not to belong to the older writers, because their style and phraseology differ entirely from his. It is the combination of two things, the constant use of

¹ Seven volumes, 8vo, 1862—1879.

Elohim, or the deliberate suppression of Jehovah, and the agreement in thought and expression with that of the older writers, which alone can determine whether any particular passage belongs to the Elohist or not.”¹ In Genesis xvii. 1, where Jehovah is used in what is considered an Elohist passage, Dr. Colenso has his explanation for this break in the theory. “It is plain that its occurrence in this single instance must be ascribed either to a slip of the copyist, or else to the fact of the writer himself having inadvertently broken his rule, and used Jehovah, a name with which he was familiar.” Here we have a specimen of the working of the subjective criticism, which throws the decision of a doubtful point entirely upon the bias of the critic himself; a pure arbitrary selection of authorship according to his private judgment, in a case altogether opposed to the judgment of the Jewish Church. Are the guesses (for such they are merely) of a critic in the nineteenth century of sufficient value to be received in opposition to the judgment of the Jewish Church? Is not this an instance of the abuse of subjective or conjectural criticism? And yet this is the main ground of all Bishop Colenso’s minute criticisms, the foundation on which they mostly rest.

b. The results of this criticism on the Pentateuch are as follows: (1) The Elohist, the oldest writer, is supposed to be Samuel. (2) The second Elohist, who wrote about the end of Saul’s reign, or early in that of David. (3) The Jehovist or Jahvist, who wrote at the end of David’s reign, or beginning of Solomon’s, probably Nathan, or perhaps identical with the second Elohist. (4) The Deuteronomist, supposed to be Jeremiah, and the Levitical Legislators who wrote after the

Supposed
authors of
the Pen-
tateuch,
&c., by
Bishop
Colenso.

¹ “Lectures on the Pentateuch,” &c. 8vo, 1873. P. 31.

captivity. The portion ascribed to each, as ascertained by the application of the Elohist and Jehovistic test, helped not a little by the critic's assumed possession of a peculiar power of perception and discrimination (which will not be readily conceded), varies in amount. The Elohist is responsible for 350 verses in Genesis and Exodus. The Elohist, junior, for 377 verses in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers. The Jehovist for $1,264\frac{1}{2}$ verses in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, and for $6\frac{1}{2}$ in Deuteronomy. The Deuteronomist (the Prophet Jeremiah) wrote (or rather forged) the whole Book of Deuteronomy, except the $6\frac{1}{2}$ verses attributed to the Jehovist, and 10 verses added afterwards by the Levitical Legislators. To these Levitical Legislators after the captivity are assigned 621 verses in Exodus, 859 in Leviticus, and $1,009\frac{1}{2}$ in Numbers, besides 10 in Deuteronomy. The statement of this scheme carries with it its own refutation; practically it is an impossibility. There is no material in the Hebrew Bible from which such results could be arrived at by the most consummate critical acumen. It is a specimen of critical conjecture in its wildest display. If any man could give plausibility to the scheme, Dr. Colenso is the man; but even he has failed to impress his convictions upon the critical schools. How and by what means was this diverse authorship interlaced and welded into one narrative, and that narrative received as the Law of Moses, a revelation from God? How is it that we have no record of the great writers who were the real authors of the Pentateuch according to this theory?

c. As to the other books of the Old Testament, the Book of *Joshua* is ascribed to the Jehovist, who wrote $212\frac{1}{2}$ verses, the Deuteronomist $306\frac{1}{2}$, and the Levitical Legislators 139; the Book of Judges chiefly the Elohist, with additions by

the Deuteronomist, and a redaction by the Levitical Legislators; the 1st Book of Samuel to 1 Kings xi. by the Jehovist, with interpolations by the Deuteronomist; the Book of Chronicles and Ezra, and most of Nehemiah, are regarded as compositions of little authority, the work of the Levitical Legislators. These criticisms will be noted in the proper place. All the assumptions, (we cannot call them arguments,) upon which the reality of these extensive interpolations and forgeries is attempted to be established, will fail to convince students accustomed to deal with critical investigations.

d. The "real history of the Exodus," as given by Dr. Colenso, admits that "some real movement out of Egypt must underlie the story of the Exodus." And this "real event," he thinks, is that related by Josephus as given by Manetho about the expulsion of the shepherd kings and their allies, "the lepers," a story treated by Josephus as a calumny, and which all recent discoveries in Egyptology refute.

e. The early history of the Old Testament is, in Dr. Colenso's opinion, purely legendary, the patriarchs, and even Moses, probably, mythical persons; the Israelites were not a chosen peculiar people, to whom was given the treasures of a revelation from God. The call of Abraham, as recorded in Genesis xii.1—3, is an invention of the Deuteronomist; their original worship was that of Baal and the gods of the Canaanites; human sacrifices were offered by them. The name Jehovah or Yahveh is that of the sun-god of the Phœnicians and Syrians, with which the Israelites became acquainted about the time of the Exodus; "not by means of a miraculous revelation to Moses, and an audible voice, but by contact with the tribes of Canaan as soon as they had crossed the Jordan and settled down as inhabitants in that land."

Bishop Colenso's view of the history of the Jewish people in the Old Testament.

We may remark that the miraculous is ignored in this work, but nowhere expressly denied.

Hypotheses of Vatke adopted by Bishop Colenso.

f. The hypotheses of Vatke, put forth forty years ago on the post-exilic origin of the Levitical Legislation, and recently revived by Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen, and others, is adopted by Dr. Colenso, whose sixth and seventh volumes contain an elaborate exposition and defence of this theory, which implies the late origin of the major part of Exodus, and Leviticus, and Numbers.

Object of Bishop Colenso's minute analysis of the Hebrew Text of the older Books and Psalms.

g. The critical analyses of the Hebrew text of the older books, and some of the Psalms, exceedingly minute and elaborate, are found in the body and in the appendices of Parts II. to VII. inclusive. Their object is to establish—(1) By a display of similarity of vocabulary and phraseology in some cases, and by a dissimilarity in these respects in others, the Elohist and Jehovist, &c., authorship of the early historical books. (2) To show the resemblance between the language of portions of Leviticus with the prophecy of Ezekiel, and also the resemblance between the language of the Book of Deuteronomy with that of the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah; the inference being that Ezekiel wrote certain portions of Leviticus, and Jeremiah the Book of Deuteronomy. This is the view of a critic too full of his theory to yield to the common-sense conclusion that Ezekiel and Jeremiah, pious students of the Law, would naturally be led to use the language of the older books. (3) To point out minutely the interpolations introduced first by Jeremiah (the Deuteronomist) in his assumed re-editing of the older books, and the equally assumed wholesale interpretation and recasting of the Pentateuch by the Levitical Legislators after the return from captivity. The practical impossibility of these

assumed authorships of either Ezekiel or Jeremiah in the cases in question, seems not to have occurred to the critic. Verbal and phraseological resemblance or otherwise, carry little conviction, except when they are confirmatory of evidence of a more direct and satisfactory character; nor are we sure that our present text of the books of the Hebrew Bible represents to the letter the verbal niceties which existed in the *ipsissima verba* of the original MS., so as to afford us the material requisite for such comparisons. These critical analyses of Bishop Colenso, though failing to support his theory, abound in acute remarks, and may be studied with advantage by future critics. We have not thought it necessary to refer to the first part of Bishop Colenso's work, which is an attack mainly on the historical credibility of the Pentateuch. This volume was the most popular of the series, because more easy to be understood by the general reader. It is, however, the least important, and as it contained nothing new, would have excited no interest, except from the fact of its being from the pen of an Anglican bishop. About three hundred replies issued from the press, the most valuable of which possess an interest in themselves apart from their relation to the controversy. We may mention "The Exodus of Israel" and "The Bible and Modern Thought," by the Rev. T. R. Birks; "The Historical Character of the Pentateuch" and "The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch," by George Warrington; "Replies to First and Second Parts of Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch," by Frank Parker; "Moses or the Zulu," by W. Weekes; Dr. Will. Smith (a Romanist)¹ "On the Pentateuch;" with others, by McCaul, &c.

Replies to
first part
of Bishop
Colenso.

The critical portions of Bishop Colenso's work are not likely to attract general readers. With all respect for

¹ One Vol. 8vo, 1868.

the bishop's learning and industry, the conclusions arrived at by himself and his Continental collaborateurs, are so foreign to the opinion of the most judicious German and English scholars, and so irreconcilable with the general tenor and character of the Jewish dispensation, and its relation to Christianity, that they cannot be received by any Christian Church which accepts, on the faith of well-accredited testimony, the authenticity and genuineness of the books of the Old Testament. The speculations of Bishop Colenso are without any parallel in modern times, except what is afforded by the vagaries of the learned Jesuit Hardouin, set forth in his work "*Chronologiæ ex nummis Antiquis Restitutæ*,"¹ in which he endeavours to prove that the major portion of the Greek and Latin classics are forgeries by the monks of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. His reasons are precisely those of the "advanced" critics, and seem as if intended as a parody upon them. (4) *Dr. Samuel Davidson*, in his "*Introduction to the Old Testament*,"² gives us in a condensed and readable form the speculations of the advanced German critics in connection with his own. To the early labours of this distinguished critic, the students in Biblical criticism are much indebted; his present advanced views are best met by a reference to his own earlier writings, especially his "*Biblical Criticism*."³ *Dr. Davidson* supposes that there are signs of an earlier and later Elohist, a Jehovist, and a Redactor in the first four books of the Pentateuch, and that Deuteronomy was written in the reign of Manasseh. (5) *Dr. M. Kalisch*, a learned Jewish grammarian and critic—author of commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus⁴—though opposed to the vivisection criticism

The
Jesuit
Hardouin.

Dr.
Samuel
Davidson.

Kalisch.

¹ Two vols. 4to, Paris, 1693

² Three vols., 8vo, pub. 1862—3.

³ Published 1839.

⁴ Published 1858—72.

of the German school, agrees with them generally as to the late date assigned to the Pentateuch in its present state. With him, the Book of Deuteronomy is the earliest work, and contains the early legislation, and yet was not known until the seventh century B.C.; Leviticus, containing the later legislation, characterised by a severe and rigid ceremonialism, *must*, therefore, be placed still later; it did not exist, or had at least no Divine authority, in the earlier years of the Babylonish captivity. With these views, the testimony of this learned Jew to the Book of Exodus is remarkable. "The authenticity of Exodus has been less exposed to the attacks of criticism than that of the other books of the Pentateuch, especially Genesis. Even the most radical sceptics have admitted that an historical kernel lies at the bottom of the accounts concerning the Exode, and that Moses is the author at least of the Decalogue. It is generally admitted that both the details of the Egyptian plagues and the journeys of Israel manifest the most accurate acquaintance with the phenomena and localities described; and that rare unanimity makes again this book one of the most interesting parts of the holy record. But its unity has been questioned, not only by that school of Biblical critics which dismembers the sacred writings quite as arbitrarily and bluntly as many hypercritical philologists of the last century dissected Homer's songs into incoherent fragments, but even more moderate interpreters believe that one book is disfigured by spurious interpretations. . . . We have in all such passages tried to refute this very questionable opinion: *we see the completest harmony in all parts of Exodus; we consider it as a perfect whole, penned throughout by one spirit and the same leading ideas.*"¹

Testimony
to the
Book of
Exodus.

¹ "Introduction to Exodus," pp. ix., x.

The
orthodox
German
Critics.

7. So far our references to German and English critics have been confined to writers exclusively identified with the school of the Higher Critics. On the orthodox side are *Bertheau*, *Eckerman*, *Hengstenberg*, *Havernick*, *Drechsler*, *Ranke*, *Sach*, *Welte*, *Baumgarten*, *Keil*, *Hug*, and numerous others. The importance attached to the opposition of these critics to the theories of the Higher Criticism may be estimated by the strong language used by Dr. S. Davidson, and Ewald. As a sample, Ewald remarks: "Hupfield and Knobel are unsatisfactory—the opinion of such men as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, and Kurtz stand below and outside all science."¹ The general tendency of German thought is said to be at this time partially reactionary, in opposition to the wild speculations of the advanced school. In England there were not wanting replies to the Rationalistic criticism of Germany, and its reproduction by Bishop Colenso (accompanied by much original matter of his own). Many of these were of great value, but few of them dealt with the critical bearings of the questions at stake. From the critical replies we select for notice five. It will be seen that of these defenders of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, three of them, while not opposed to the theory of Astruc, arrive at conclusions as orthodox as those who set aside that theory as *not proven*.

Replies
to the
German
Critics.

Rev. W.
Paul.

(1) *The Rev. William Paul*² admits the existence of the two authorships, but infers that the documents in which the name of Jehovah is often found are from the hand of Moses himself; that those in which that name is but sparsely used are documents revised by Moses; and that when the name of Jehovah is not found, these are documents simply used by Moses.

¹ See History, Vol. I. p. 64.

² "Hebrew Text of Genesis," 8vo, 1852.

(2) *The Rev. J. J. S. Perowne*¹ thinks that "while the distinct use of the Divine names could scarcely of itself prove the point," there is other evidence, "the same story told by two writers, and these two accounts manifestly interwoven," as in the history of Noah and the narrative of the flood : he thinks, too, that "generally the Elohist and Jehovistic writers have their own distinct and individual colouring." (It is singular how the learned differ, for *Quarry* takes the very passages *respecting the deluge* as a proof in point of the unity of the narrative.) His view of the composition of the Pentateuch is as follows : "(a) The Book of Genesis rests chiefly on documents much earlier than the time of Moses, though it was probably brought in very nearly its present shape either by Moses himself or by one of the elders who acted under him. (b) The Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers are to a great extent Mosaic ; besides those portions which are expressly declared to have been written by him, other portions, and especially the legal sections, were, if not actually written, in all probability dictated by him. (c) Deuteronomy, except the concluding part, is entirely the work of Moses, as it professes to be. (d) It is not probable that this book was written before the three preceding books, because the legislation in Exodus and Leviticus, as being the more formal, is manifestly the earlier, whilst Deuteronomy is the spiritual interpretation and application of the law. But the letter is always before the Spirit ; the theory before its interpretation. (e) The first composition of the Pentateuch as a whole could not have taken place till after the Israelites entered Canaan. It is probable that Joshua and the Elders who were associated with him could provide for its formal arrangement, custody,

Rev. J. J. S.
Perowne.

¹ In "Smith's Biblical Dictionary," Vol. II. p. 775. 1863.

and transmission. (f) The whole work did not finally assume its present shape till its revision was undertaken by Ezra after the return from the Babylonish captivity."

Waring-
ton.

(3) The third, *Mr. George Warrington*, under the signature of a "Layman of the Church of England," is the author of "Historical Character of the Pentateuch Vindicated,"¹ and also of "The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch Considered."² Both of these are replies to Dr. Colenso (parts I. to III). These works, like *Quarry's* work on Genesis, are remarkable for a minuteness of research which even the persevering indomitable industry of Germany cannot excel. We give in full the Layman's conclusions taken from "Mosaic Origin, &c.," pp. 149—151. "The materials of which the first four books are composed, appear thus to be of very various dates and characters, the larger portions, however, being almost certainly Mosaic: they may be arranged as follows: (1) A series of annals, embracing the chief features of primeval and patriarchal history down to the death of Joseph, date and authorship unknown, but some probably written in Egypt, and all certainly pre-Mosaic. As already remarked, there are some of the Elohist sections which seem to reach back into a still greater antiquity, and especially the narrative of the Deluge, with its niceties of dates, and the account of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Genesis xxiii.), which has all the appearance of a contemporaneous record (see Genesis i., ii. 4, v. 1 to 28, 30 to 32, &c.). (2) Additional matter referring to the same periods from the pen of Moses, variously inserted among these, to enlarge, supplement, or replace different portions of them (as Genesis ii. 4, iv., v. 29, &c.). (3) An Elohist narrative of the sojourn in Egypt, and the Exodus, date and authorship unknown (Exodus i., ii.,

¹ 8vo, 1863.

² 8vo, 1864.

xiii. 17, 19). (4) A Jehovistic narrative of the Exodus and passage through the wilderness, up to the erection of the Tabernacle, including the earlier portion of the Sinaitic laws; also a list of the journeyings in the wilderness written by Moses (Exodus iii., iv. 18, 20, &c.). (5) A series of laws delivered during the last thirty-nine years of the journey through the wilderness, recorded probably by Moses (Leviticus i. to vii., &c., &c.). (6) A narrative of the events of the second and fortieth years with which these laws have been incorporated, written shortly after the conquest of Canaan; author unknown (Leviticus viii., x., &c.). (7) Three isolated narratives concerning Abraham's war with the four kings, Jethro's visit to Moses, and Balaam's prophecies, probably (in part at least) of foreign origin. (8) A variety of explanatory notes, additions, and occasional alterations, with a few passages of greater length, chiefly from other ancient narratives, introduced by a writer of much later date, very probably in the days of Saul. Out of these diverse materials we believe the first four books of the Pentateuch to have been compiled. The proportion in which they are found may be roughly expressed as follows:—If these four books were divided into one thousand equal parts, then (1) the pre-Mosaic annals would make up one hundred and sixty-four of them; (2, 4, and 5) the Mosaic portion five hundred and seventy-six; (6) the later narrative two hundred and fourteen; (7) the foreign records twenty-six; (3 and 8) the Elohist exodus and the last reviser ten each. About three-fourths of the whole matter contained in them may be ascribed therefore to Moses, or still earlier writers; and nearly the whole of the remainder to his contemporaries. There is only about one per cent. which can fairly be assigned to a later period. The

books may justly then be termed the Books of Moses, whether we regard their date, their author, or their subject; and the testimony of tradition to their origin be admitted as substantially correct."

Dr.
Browne.

(4) *Dr. Harold Browne*, Bishop of Winchester, gives in the Introduction to the Pentateuch, in the "Speaker's Commentary,"¹ a condensed epitome of the results of modern criticism and common sense, in which the following points are fairly established—(1) that Moses could have written the Pentateuch; (2) that the concurrent testimony of all subsequent times proves that he did write the Pentateuch; (3) that the internal evidence pointed to him and to him only as the writer of the Pentateuch. The "Speaker's Commentary," and especially Bishop Browne's Introduction, has called forth Bishop Colenso's "New Bible Commentary, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church, Critically Examined,"² in which he combats the views of Bishop Browne and the other writers of the Commentary: as might be anticipated, when we consider the assumptions upon which his criticisms are founded: admit the premises that—(1) the Elohist and Jehovistic theory is true; (2) that the Elohist wrote in the days of Samuel; (3) the second Elohist in the days of David's reign; (4) the Jehovist in the days of Joshua; (5) that their portions comprised what Dr. Colenso calls "the old story," and constituted the whole Bible up to (6) the Deuteronomist (Jeremiah), who forged Deuteronomy, and interpolated all the other books; and that (7) the priests and others during and after the captivity composed the middle books of the Pentateuch, and the entire ceremonial of the Mosaic law: if so, Bishop Browne's Introduction, with the rest of the Commentary, is as useless as waste-

¹ Vol. I. pp. 2—36.

² Seven Parts, 8vo, 1871.

paper. But then, we do not admit any of Bishop Colenso's premises, and thus to us his conclusions are worthless.

(5) *Reginald Stuart Poole* (well known as the author of sundry works on Egyptian Archæology) states his opinion on the question of the antiquity of the Pentateuch in the third article upon Ancient Egypt in the "Contemporary Review."¹

R. S.
Poole.

"The date of the Hebrew documents, in general, has been assumed to be that assigned to them by the older scholars. This position is justified by the Egyptian evidence. German and Dutch critics have laboured with extraordinary acuteness and skill upon the Mosaic documents alone, with such illustrations as they could obtain from collateral records, using, be it remembered, such records as all the older, and too many of the later, classical scholars out of Germany and France have used coins and inscriptions, not as independent sources, but as mere illustrations. The work has been that of great literary critics, not of archæologists. The result has been to reduce the date of the documents, except a few fragments, by many centuries.

"The Egyptian documents emphatically call for a reconsideration of the whole question of the date of the Pentateuch. It is now certain that the narrative of the history of Joseph and the sojourn and exodus of the Israelites, that is to say, the portion from Genesis xxxix. to Exodus xv., so far as it relates to Egypt, is substantially not much later than B.C. 1300 (this is the date given by Brugsch for the exodus from Egypt);² in other words, was written while the memory of events was fresh. The minute accuracy of the text is inconsistent with any later date. It is not merely that it shows knowledge of Egypt, but knowledge of Egypt under the Ramessides

¹ Vol. XXXIV. pp. 757—9.

² Note inserted.

and yet earlier. The condition of the country, the chief cities of the frontier, the composition of the army, are true of the age of the Ramessides, and not true of the age of the Pharaohs contemporary with Solomon and his successors. If the Hebrew documents are of the close of the period of the kings of Judah, how is it that they are true of the earlier condition, not of that which was contemporary with those kings? Why is the Egypt of the Law markedly different from the Egypt of the Prophets, each condition being described consistently with its Egyptian records, themselves contemporary with the events? Why is Egypt described in the Law as one kingdom, and no hint given of the break-up of the Empire into the small principalities mentioned by Isaiah (xix. 2)? Why do the proper names belong to the Ramesside and earlier age, without a single instance of those Semitic names which came into fashion with the Bubastite line in Solomon's time? Why do Zoan-Rameses and Zoar¹ take the places of Migdol and Tahpanhes? Why are the foreign mercenaries, such as the Lubim, spoken of in the constitution of Egyptian armies in the time of the kingdom of Judah, wholly unmentioned? The relations of Egypt with foreign countries are not less characteristic. The kingdom of Ethiopia, which overshadowed Egypt from before Hezekiah's time and throughout his reign, is unmentioned in the earlier documents. The earlier Assyrian Empire which rose for a time on the fall of the Egyptian nowhere appears.

"These agreements have not failed to strike foreign

¹ The discovery of a great frontier fort, Zar, perhaps, as Brugsch thinks, identical with Tanis, explains the passage in Gen. xiii. 10, which otherwise involves a long

parenthesis, "the plain of Jordan" being there described "as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar."

Egyptologists, who have no theological bias. These independent scholars, without actually formulating any view of the date of the greater part of the Pentateuch, appear uniformly to treat its text as an authority to be cited side by side with the Egyptian monuments. So Lepsius in his researches on the date of the Exodus, and Brugsch in his discussion of the route, Chabas in his paper on Rameses and Pithom. Of course it would be unfair to implicate any one of these scholars in the inferences expressed above, but at the same time it is impossible that they can, for instance, hold Kuenen's theories of the date of the Pentateuch so far as the part relating to Egypt is concerned. They have taken the two sets of documents, Hebrew and Egyptian, side by side, and in the working of elaborate problems found everything consistent with accuracy on both sides; and of course accuracy would not be maintained in a tradition handed down through several centuries.

"If the large portion of the Pentateuch relating to the Egyptian period of Hebrew history, including as it does Elohistie as well as Jehovistic sections, is of the remote antiquity here claimed for it, no one can doubt that the first four books of Moses are substantially of the same age. The date of Deuteronomy is a separate question.¹ Leaving this problem aside, the early age of the first four books does unquestionably involve great difficulties, but not nearly so great as the hypothesis of late date when they are confronted with the Egyptian records.

¹ The lamented Deutsch, remarkable among Hebraists for his acute literary perception, remarked to the writer that he could not explain the origin of Deuteronomy on any other hypothesis than its original Mosaic authorship, redaction being enough to account for its peculiarities. This opinion may

not have been maintained, and therefore it is merely stated as a remarkable hint thrown out in conversation. Many scholars would not believe that Deutsch could have held the view for a moment: this is why the recollection deserves to be put on record.

"Those who refuse to accept the results of the most advanced school of Hebrew critics on the ground that they are inconsistent with the evidence of the Egyptian documents, must beware of throwing themselves into the arms of the other extreme party, who deny the value of criticism, and refuse to accept the evidence of partial compilation and redaction patent in the Biblical texts. . . . Of this criticism it may be said that its excellences in analysis are marred by its defects in constructive skill. Its facts are admirably chosen, but its theories are hastily put together, their very multitude being sufficient to arouse the keenest mistrust. For if a school has produced from the same evidence many distinct hypotheses of the date of a set of documents, all but one theory must be false, and therefore the great majority are in error, and if we trust ourselves to a guide he is in a minority of one."

Dean
Milman.

(6) *Dean Milman*.—The opinions of this Broad-Church divine and finished scholar on the authenticity and age of the Pentateuch, are especially useful, as coming from one who kept himself singularly aloof from the controversies of his day. We select from his "History of the Jews."¹ (a) *Age of the Pentateuch*.—"The laws of a settled and civilised community were enacted among a wandering and homeless horde, who were traversers of the wilderness, and more likely, under their existing circumstances, to rank below the pastoral life of their forefathers, than advance to the rank of an industrious agricultural community. Yet at this time (at Mount Sinai), judging solely from its internal evidence, the law must have been enacted. Who but Moses ever possessed such authority as to enforce submission to statutes so severe and uncompromising? Yet as Moses incontestably died

¹ "History of the Jews," Vol. I. pp. 130—1. 8vo, 1863.

before the conquest of Canaan, his legislation must have taken place in the desert. To what other period can the Hebrew constitution be assigned? To that of the Judges? a time of anarchy, warfare, or servitude! To that of the Kings? when the republic had undergone a total change! To any time after Jerusalem became the metropolis? When the holy city, the pride and glory of the nation, is not even alluded to in the whole law! After the building of the Temple? when it is equally silent as to any settled or durable edifice! After the separation of the kingdoms? when the close bond of brotherhood had given place to implacable hostility! Under Hilkihah? under Ezra? when a great number of the statutes had become a dead letter! The law depended on a strict and equitable partition of the land. At a later period it could not have been put into practice without the forcible resumption of every individual property by the State; the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of such a measure may be estimated by any reader who is not entirely unacquainted with the history of the ancient republics. In other respects the law breathes the air of the desert. Enactments intended for a people with settled habitations, and dwelling in walled cities, are mingled with temporary regulations only suited to the Bedouin encampment of a nomad tribe.¹ I can have no doubt that the statute-book of Moses, with all his particular enactments, still exists, and that it recites them in the same order (if it may be called order) in which they were promulgated."

¹ Dean Milman, in a note, refers to Leviticus iv. 12—20, xvi. 10, 21—28, xiii. 46, xiv. 3—8, and adds: "I cannot understand how these provisions at least can be considered anything but contempo-

aneous with the events, or how they are to be reconciled with the recent theories of the late invention, or even compilation of the law." Vol. I. p. 131.

(b) *Objections of the Critical School of Germany, &c.*—“On the age and authorship of the books ascribed to Moses there is an infinite diversity of opinion. Indeed, an adversary of such opinions might almost stand aloof in calm patience, and leave the conflicting theorists to mutual slaughter. . . . To examine them all in detail (and the whole force of the argument lies in detail) is obviously impossible in this work. But there is one criticism which I trust it may not be presumptuous to submit to the critical school. There seems to me a fatal fallacy in the groundwork of their argument. Their minute inferences and conclusions, drawn from slight premises, seem to presuppose an integrity and perfect accuracy in the existing text, not in itself probable, and certainly utterly inconsistent with the general principles of their criticism.”¹

¹ Vol. I. pp. 132—3.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

Hypotheses
of the
Critics.

THE non-Mosaic origin of this book is an article of faith among the Higher Critics. Whether reasonable or not will appear after a careful examination of the leading points in the controversy. It may be desirable to give—I. The critical hypotheses. II. The objections to the Mosaic authorship. III. The strong presumptive evidence in favour of that authorship.

I. *Critical Hypotheses*, various and contradictory, tend to prove the unsatisfactory character of modern theories opposed to the generally received opinion of the Churches.

I. *Stähelin* (1843) thinks it was written in the time of Saul. *Vater* (1805) supposes it to have existed as a written document since the time of David and Solomon, but the concluding portion so late as the Babylonian captivity. *Von Bohlen, Vatke, George* (1835), fix the earliest date in the reign of Josiah, the latest about the time of the Babylonian captivity. *Bleek, Vaihinger, Hartman, Kalisch, Riehm, Reuss, Kuenen, Knobel* (1861), contend for a late date not earlier than the reign of Manasseh or Josiah. *Lengerke* (1844) thinks that from the writer in the time of Josiah, who at the same time re-edited Joshua, we have all the book except chap. xxxi. 14—23, and perhaps chap. xxxii., which is from the Jehovist, under Hezekiah. *De Wette* (1806—52), *De Wette*.

seventh edition, thinks that, according to the redaction of the Jehovist, the Elohistie essential portions of the five Books of Moses, including perhaps Deut. xxxi. 14—22, close the *fourth Book*. The writer of Deuteronomy interpolates the Mosaic hortatory discourses, the new law-giving, and the obligation to keep the law, and then places the closing part of the *fourth Book* at the end, in the time of Josiah. The passages chap. iv. 27, xxviii. 25—36, 49—64, xxix. 27, &c., xxxii. 5—33, were written in the most unfortunate time of the State, in the Assyrian period, and with reference to the exile of the ten tribes. *Ewald* (1864), third edition. The main portion of Deuteronomy, chaps. i. to xxx., is, in his opinion, an entirely independent writing; and from thence onward, the original history follows the work of the “fifth narrator,” and runs close to the death of Joshua. The great song, chap. xxxii., is taken from an unknown poet, in the place of an older one, which was less suitable. It is, as a book formed from many sources, now entirely lost. Written, perhaps, during the second half of the reign of Manasseh in Egypt, through a peculiar event it became an instrument in the reformation under Josiah. Chap. xxxiii. was written by the true latest collector and publisher of our present Pentateuch, who connected Deuteronomy with the work of the “fifth narrator,” before the end of the seventh century, B.C. *Davidson* thinks it was written in the time of Manasseh. *Bishop Colenso* identifies the author¹ with the prophet Jeremiah, the Deuteronomist, to whom he assigns chaps. i. to ix., x. 1—5, 8—22, xi. to xxx., xxxi. 1—13, 16—30, xxxii. 1—43, 45—7, xxxiv. 1, 2—4, 11, 12. In support of this view he adduces striking parallelisms between passages in the Books of Kings and Jeremiah, precisely the same as

Ewald.

Davidson.
Bishop
Colenso's
theory of
the au-
thorship
of
Jeremiah.

¹ Part III. chap. xxiv. Part VII. p. 69; appendix, p. iv.

exist between the language of Kings and Deuteronomy, and hence infers, that Jeremiah, who is supposed to have written a large portion of the Book of Kings, wrote also the Book of Deuteronomy. But is it not quite as easy to suppose, and much more likely to be true, that the study of Deuteronomy by such a prophet as Jeremiah, so zealous for the law, influenced his style both in the Books of Kings, and in his own book of prophecy? Chap. xxxiii. is supposed to be from the hand of a contemporary of the supposed Deuteronomist. To simple Christians it seems strange that an inspired prophet, Jeremiah, should write a book and present it to the Jewish priests and people as if actually written by Moses under the inspiration of the Spirit of God. This appears to them to be an example of a literary forgery, of all forgeries the most to be deprecated, and as utterly inconsistent with the unblemished character of Jeremiah. But Bishop Colenso¹ most ingeniously reconciles this conduct with the honesty and truthfulness of the prophet, admitting that "to us, with our inductive training and scientific habits of mind, the correct statement of *facts* appears of the first necessity; and consciously to misstate them, or to state as fact what we do not know or believe from *external* testimony to be a fact, is a crime against truth; but to a man like Jeremiah, who believed himself to be in *immediate* communication with the Source of all truth, this condition must have been reversed. The inner Voice, which he believed to be the Voice of the Divine Teacher, would become all-powerful, and silence at once all doubts and questionings. What it ordered him to do, he would do without hesitation, as by direct command of God; and all considerations as to morality or immorality, would either not

Bishop
Colenso's
apology
for the
supposed
forgery by
Jeremiah.

¹ Part III. chap. vi.

be entertained at all, or would only take the form of misgiving as to whether possibly, in any particular case, the command itself was literally Divine. Let us imagine, then, that Jeremiah, or any other contemporary seer, meditating upon the condition of his country, and the means of weaning his people from idolatry, became *possessed with* the idea of writing to them an address, as in the name of Moses, of the kind which we have just been considering, in which the laws ascribed to him, and handed down from an earlier age, having become in many respects unsuitable, should be adapted anew to the circumstances of the present times, and reinforced with solemn prophetic utterances. This thought, we may believe, would take in the prophet's mind the form of a Divine command. All questions of *deception* or *fraus pia* would vanish." We may contrast this lenient dealing with the prophet Jeremiah with the Bishop's severe remarks on the supposed "falsity" of the Chronicles. He certainly does not administer his censures "indifferently," without regard to persons. The original Book of the Law is by the Bishop supposed to be found in chap. iv. 44, and to xxvi., xxviii., xxix., xxxi. 9—13 ; but there are additions made afterwards, as chap. i. to chap. iv. 43, 45—9, xxix., xxx., xxxi. 1—8, 23—30, xxxii. 1—43, xxxiv. 11, 12, all of which are later passages, written after the original Book of the Law ; chap. xi. 29, 30, xxvii. 1—26, xxxi. 16—22, xxxii. 44, are still later passages by the Deuteronomist. The Jehovist (who lived in the time of David or Solomon) is the supposed author of chap. x. 6^a, 7, xxxi. 14, 15, xxxiv. 5, 6, 10. Levitical additions made by the priestly party after the return from captivity, are chaps. x. 6^b, xxxii. 44, 48—52, xxxiv. 1^p, 7—9, and perhaps xxxi. 2^p.¹

The
supposed
original
Book of
the Law.

¹ Part VII. App. IV.

2. *Delitzsch, Kurtz, Havernick, Hengstenberg, Keil*, and others, remain faithful to the traditions of the Jewish Church, and consider the book to be, as it professes to be, the work of Moses. Discussions have arisen as to the position of the book among the Higher Critics: *Van Bohlen, Vater, Vatke, Genge, Reuss, Kalisch, Kuenen*, think it was earlier than the other books of the Pentateuch, while the older critics and *De Wette, Ewald, Vaihinger, Stähelin, and Bleek*, think it was the last of the four concluding books of the Pentateuch.

The
Orthodox
Critics.

3. Recently a mediate position in reference to the date, &c., of this book has been taken by *Kleinert* (1872), and his work may be regarded as a specimen of the gradual retrocession of learned opinion towards the old views. He holds that the writer of Deuteronomy never claims that it was written by Moses in its present form, but simply that he wrote "this law," *the law* found in chap. iv. 44 to xxvi. 15, which form the main part of the book, to which the author refers in the preceding and following chapters. Chronologically this part of Deuteronomy occupies a middle portion between what seems the earlier fundamental portion of the central books, *i.e.*, Exodus xx. to xxiii. 34, Leviticus xviii. to xx., and the remaining parts. He thinks the Book of Deuteronomy forms an essential part of the Book of the Law, discovered in the reign of Isaiah (2 Kings xxii.); but there is clear testimony of its earlier composition in the reference to the Canaanites, Amalekites, &c., in the marked Egyptian colouring, in the Deuteronomic legislation, and in other like references. That the book was known to Hosea and Amos is decisive as to its not being written in the time of Josiah, and all the conditions as to time and the character of the book point out the period of the Judges as the only one in which Deuter-

Kleinert's
mediate
position as
a critic.

onomy could have received its present form. This fourfold book consists of discourses, law, covenant, and blessing, and is the work of one writer whom he identifies with Samuel.

Dean
Milman in
direct
opposition
to Bishop
Colenso
and the
Higher
Critics.

4. The confident assertions of learned critics require to be considered in juxtaposition with the directly opposite opinion of men equally learned. Take, for instance, the authoritative ruling of *Dr. Colenso* on this question: "It is one of the most certain results of modern criticism that Deuteronomy was written in the later period of the Jewish monarchy."¹ On the other hand, *Dean Milman*, in reference to *Ewald's* dicta on the authorship and age of Deuteronomy, remarks:—"He assumes the composition of the book at this time with the same peremptory—I had almost said arrogant—confidence as if he were writing of the composition of the *Æneid* in the time of Augustus, or of the Code and Pandects in the reign of Justinian. Having carefully examined all his alleged reasons, I confess that I cannot discern the shadow of a sound or trustworthy reason even for conjecture. To historical authority there is no pretence."² "... *Ewald's* assignment of Deuteronomy to the reign of Manasseh, on which reign we are almost in the dark, seems to me more utterly wild and arbitrary, and its Egyptian origin wilder still."³

Supposition of a
previous fraud in
the discovery of
the Book of the Law
by Hilkiah
in the reign of
Josiah.

5. The monstrous supposition of a pious fraud, in which Hilkiah the Priest, and Huldah the Prophetess, and the prophet Jeremiah were partners in the discovery of a copy of the Book of the Law, as related in 2 Kings xxii. 13, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 21, is adopted by *Bishop Colenso*, but is certainly not deducible from the text. It must have been "read between the lines" (as Professor

¹ Vol. III. chap. xxiv.

³ "History of the Jews," Vol. I.

² "History of the Jews," Vol. I. 136.

Delitzsch remarks¹), "for the narrative presupposes that the book which was drawn from its hiding-place was of recognised authority." Its recognition and the effects which followed are proofs of its being a copy of the law given by Moses, the memory of which had not been utterly effaced. See also Professor Watts:—"The book found is not described as 'a written law-book,' but as 'the book of the law.' It is true the article is wanting before 'book,' but it is before the word 'law,' with which it is in construction where it ought to be, and the phrase is properly rendered, 'the book of the law.' This usage is in harmony with the rule that 'the article is not prefixed to a noun in construction with a definite noun.' . . . It is not then 'an obvious fact,' as Professor Smith alleges (in his article 'Bible' in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica'²), 'that the law-book (the reader will mark that law-book is a translation in the interest of the theory) found at the time of Josiah contained provisions which were not, up to that time, an acknowledged part of the law of the land.' Could any theory be more absurd? On such a theory how account for the wrath threatened against Judah by Huldah the Prophetess, speaking in the name of Jehovah? What ground could there be for wrath against a people for not obeying a book hitherto unknown? . . . So far is Josiah from regarding this book as containing provisions hitherto unknown to Judah, that he recognises it as containing *an old law which has been neglected by their fathers*" (2 Kings xxii. 13).³ The theory of the *Rev. Professor Robertson Smith* (who in his theological views is at one

Remarks
by
Professor
Delitzsch.

Professor
Watts
on
Professor
Smith's
"Theory
of the
Origin of
Deutero-
nomy."

¹ Curtiss's "Levitical Priests,"

p. ix

² Ency. Brit., Vol. III., article
"Bible."

³ Rev. Professor Watts, Brit.
and For. Evan. Rev., No. CXII.,
April, 1880, pp. 223, 226, 227.

with the Presbyterian Church, to which he belongs) is singular, considering his high character as a scholar. In his opinion the Book of Deuteronomy is "beyond doubt a prophetic legislative programme, and if the author put his work in the mouth of Moses instead of giving it, with Ezekiel, a directly prophetic form, he did so, not in pious fraud, but simply because his object was not to give a new law, but to expound and develop Mosaic principles in relation to new needs." Nothing can exceed the improbability of this theory. It has called forth the sarcasm of an able writer (*Hon. Lionel A. Tollemache*) on what he calls "the theory of inspired personation," by which the author of Deuteronomy, who was *not* Moses (according to Professor Smith), *was inspired to say that he was Moses*.

Professor
Robertson
Smith
announces
the Book
of
Deutero-
nomy to be
"a pro-
phetic
legislative
pro-
gramme."

Objections
to the
Mosaic
origin con-
sidered.
Style.

II. *The objections to the Mosaic authorship*, all of which we think admit of a satisfactory reply.

I. As to style. The difference between the style of Deuteronomy and the central books of the Pentateuch is obvious, but it is simply the difference between the style of the historian and that of the orator. The aged leader and lawgiver, under the influence of a peculiar deep spiritual sympathising concern for his people, and in the certainty of his own speedy removal from them, is discharging his last duty to them. We need not wonder that all the restraints of that slowness of speech, his early infirmity, are swept away, and that all the warm, deep feelings of his nature find full expression. The differences in phraseology arise out of the subjects discussed, as *Warrington* has proved through fifty-four pages of details which cannot be abridged;¹ while on the other hand, the enormous differences in language and tone of thought between Deuteronomy and the

¹ "Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch," 8vo, pp. 154—208.

prophecies of Jeremiah, must convince the most cursory reader that the authorship of the prophet, supported by *Bishop Colenso*, has no foundation in the fancies of the Higher Critics. *Kænig*:¹ "after a complete and exhaustive discussion of this subject, which has never been and cannot be answered, lengthened argument on this point is needless." It is to be observed also that all classes of archaisms, whether in vocabulary or in grammatical forms, which have been pointed out as characteristic of the Hebrew of the Pentateuch, are found in Deuteronomy.

2. Startling anachronisms, which appear to negative at once all idea of Mosaic origin. All these, pointed out by *Dr. Colenso*, are carefully investigated by *Warrington* in forty-seven pages;² also by *Dr. Murphy*, of Belfast, in a minute account and explanation of twenty-one supposed irreconcilable facts;³ and again by an anonymous writer,⁴ as well as by several others. To give a list of these objections and replies is out of the question in the necessary brevity to which this volume must be confined; but we may briefly refer (1) to the prophetic directions as to the *choice of a king*, and the establishment at a future period of a *central altar* in connection with a national capital. Viewed as prophetic intimations of the natural course of events, to be realised at a future period, these passages can occasion no difficulty except to those who deny the possibility of a supernatural gift of prophecy. (2) In the directions respecting a central altar and the concentration of sacrificial services at one place, Deut. xii. 5—14, there is no contradiction to

Anachro-
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Refer-
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future
King.

Refer-
ences to a
central
altar.

¹ "Speaker's Commentary," Vol. I. p. 795.

² "Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch," 8vo, pp. 209—256.

³ "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," January, 1878.

⁴ "Church of England Quarterly," October, 1877.

Exodus xx. 24, which was given while the sanctuary was moving with the people in their journeyings. The promise which preceded the directions as to the altar was accompanied by the promise, "*In all places where I record My name, I will come unto thee and I will bless thee.*" A central altar would naturally follow the establishment of a national capital. It was not realised fully until the time of Solomon and the Mosaic law was in actual usage, interpreted as applying not more to the actual sanctuary than to every place in which it had been temporarily fixed. Special occasions appeared to justify a departure from the strictness of the law. We agree with Dr. Gossman (see his Appendix to Lange's Deuteronomy, p. 253), "On the whole we must not attribute to these wise and good men" (who are stated to have offered sacrifices at sundry places, and to whose conduct in this respect reference has been made by the critics in order to disprove the existence of the law itself) "the narrow and slavish views of the later Jews; they were not bound to the letter in every case; there was a flexibility and susceptibility of adaptation in all their regulations to the special exigences in which they lived." But the notion of *Kuenen* that during David's reign and that of his immediate successors, the competence of every Israelite to offer sacrifices as priests was not doubted, is without foundation in law. He himself admits that the cases quoted simply show that certain privileged persons were allowed to offer sacrifices. Besides, it is not improbable but that in the instances referred to the principal person may have simply directed the sacrifice and furnished the sacrificial beast, while the actual sacrificer may have been a priest. (3) Great stress is laid by opposing critics on the differences in the phraseology of the *Ten Words*, i.e., the *Ten Commandments*, as recorded

Difference
in the
phraseo-
logy of

in Exodus, chap. xx., from the record in Deuteronomy, the force of the argument lying in this, that both versions appear to profess to state the identical words spoken by Jehovah from the top of Sinai. It is obvious, however, that the phrase "*these words*," does not refer to the exact language, but simply to *the laws* themselves, to the *Ten Words*, by which is meant the ten laws themselves, apart from the reasons given, or other remarks appended, which are the comments of the historian. Incidentally this variation is a proof of the identity of the writer of Deuteronomy with the writer of Exodus. A later writer professing to write in the name of Moses, would have been careful to copy the record as in Exodus. Moses felt at liberty to vary both the phraseology and the comment. (4) *Dr. Colenso* complains of discrepancies between the narratives and laws recorded in Deuteronomy and in the earlier books; the reply of *Warrington* is that "in no case do these involve the slightest contradiction in respect to the events spoken of, but rather, by furnishing us with proofs of the perfect independence of the two records, tend to establish more firmly the truthfulness of their statements. The only point is in the chronological order of certain details, which is explained by the fact that Moses in these addresses was not merely narrating a history, but illustrating from history his exhortations. The differences in the laws are in appearance merely; they are such as arise from greater fulness and circumstantiality in one or other of the laws compared, and, therefore, compatible with common origin; or else from alterations arising out of the change of the times and circumstances since the first laws were promulgated. There is no reason for ascribing the laws in Deuteronomy to a later date than the conquest of Bashan, or to any other lawgiver

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Discre-
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other
books.

than Moses."¹ In reference to alteration in the law arising out of altered circumstances, we may notice how the restriction in Lev. xvii. 3, 4, is removed in Deut. xii. 15, the former law being unsuitable to the people about to enter Canaan, though well adapted for the wilderness and the camp.

3. But the objection which has excited most interest, because connected with the theory which is now popular in Germany, as to the comparatively late origin of the Levitical laws, is that which deals with the relative positions of the Priests and Levites as represented in the earlier books of the Pentateuch, and supposed to be otherwise stated in Deuteronomy. *Professor Robertson Smith*² remarks: "The Levitical laws give a graduated hierarchy of Priests and Levites. Deuteronomy regards all Levites as at least possible priests. Round this difficulty and points allied to it the whole discussion turns." So also *Kuenen*: "The Deuteronomic law makes no distinction between those who belong to this tribe, *i.e.* Levi; they are not all priests, but they can all become priests. Not so the laws recorded in Exodus (chap. xxv.) and in the following books. They confine the priesthood to Aaron and his descendants, and make all the rest of the Levites subordinate to them." The ruling idea in the mind of this critic is, that Deuteronomy is the earlier book, and that in the interval between it and the central books of the Pentateuch—a period, according to their views, extending from the time of Manasseh or Josiah to the time of the reformation carried on in Jerusalem by Ezra after the return from exile, that is to say, within so short a period as two hundred years—the family of Aaron had fully

Relative position of the Priests and Levites; difference in Deuteronomy from that given in Leviticus.

¹ "Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch," pp. 209—256.

² Article "Bible," *Encyclo. Brit.* Ninth Edition.

succeeded in monopolising the priestly office and honours. It is the desire to support this novel view of the religious history of the Jewish people (a view never hinted by any Jew or Gentile until within the present century) which lies at the root of the earnestness thrown into this discussion of the supposed differences in the teaching of Deuteronomy from the other books of the Pentateuch in regard to the relative position of the Priests and the Levites. The phrase "the Priests the Levites" is found in Deuteronomy, chaps. xvii. 9, 18, xviii. 1, xxiv. 8, xxvii. 9—14. Apart from all prejudice in favour of the new theory, these passages would be interpreted as meaning "the Levitical priests" (so called to distinguish them from *the family priests*, which were universal before the separation of Aaron and his sons, and which held its ground for many years after; to the perversity of the people in this respect Moses appears to allude in Deuteronomy xii. 8, 9). Taken in connection with the history in the preceding books, in which the distinction in the position of the Priests and the Levites is plainly set forth, viz., the Levites ministering to the Priests, and the Priests ministering to God; then the fact of Moses speaking generally of the Levitical tribe, without adverting to the distinction of orders, is easily accounted for. In England we speak of the clergy of the Church of England, in which phrase the bishops are included. Every bishop is a clergyman, but not every clergyman a bishop; so every priest was a Levite, but not every Levite a priest. It is lamentable to read the discussion on this simple question, and it is not specially profitable to know that the phrase "the Priests the Levites" is used in nineteen places in one recension of the Hebrew text and in twenty-four in another, while in thirty-four places the phrase "the

Priests and Levites" is used. It will be noticed that this dispute greatly depends upon the presence or absence of the conjunction *and*, expressed in Hebrew by a single letter (vau), which the carelessness of a copyist might easily insert or omit; but there are other matters relating to the duties of Priests and Levites, the bearing the ark, the right to discharge certain official acts, the claims of the Levites to certain portions of the tithes and free-will offerings, in all of which there is much obscurity to us, owing to the absence of explicit information. The Jews had no difficulty in understanding and carrying out the laws respecting these matters; they saw no difficulty in reconciling Deuteronomy with the other books—a sufficient proof that the difficulties our critics see arise out of the meagreness of our information. So also with respect to various remarks inserted in Deuteronomy, relating to past events in the history of the covenants, or geographical and topographical notices: these, which have been stumbling-blocks to our modern critics, were known by the older Jewish writers to have been simply insertions or glosses to aid to the better understanding of the old text; these correspond with our notes at the foot of the page. Prideaux's "Connection of Sacred and Prophetic History" gives much useful information on this point.¹ Such liberties taken with ancient books were deemed perfectly correct, and in the case of Ezra warranted (it was generally believed) by a special Divine authority.

III. *The strong presumptive evidence in favour of the Mosaic authorship.*

1. The evident connection of the book with the preceding Book of Numbers. "The first sentence of the book is, *These be the words which Moses spake unto all*

¹ Vol. II., Book V., sect. 3, 4, p. 416. Ed. 1808.

Con-
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Deutero-
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books.

Ezra's Book.

Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red Sea, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab, eleven days from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea (chap. i. 1, 2). The commentators in general take this to be the heading of the following discourses of Moses, but this cannot be, for two reasons: *first*, the real heading of these communications is given in verses 3 to 5, from which it appears that they were delivered in the *eleventh month*, and *on this side Jordan, in the land of Moab*; *secondly*, the scene of *these words* in the first verse is altogether different. It is said to be in the wilderness, &c., . . . points that manifestly belong to the peninsula, and eleven days from Horeb. *These words*, then, are plainly not the following address, but the contents of the previous books of the Pentateuch.¹ In the interval of time, commencing at the farthest eleven days from Horeb, and terminating before the eleventh month of the fortieth year, these books were made known to the people. This opens up to us a new view of the relation of this book to the preceding part of the Pentateuch. The division into books was a mere after arrangement for the convenience of the reader. The present sentence binds this book to what goes before as an integral part of a greater whole. These two verses might have been more logically placed by the divider as a genuine subscription at the end of Numbers, in the same manner as we have a major after a minor subscription in the seventh chapter of Leviticus. But the effect of the actual division is to make it clear to us that Deuteronomy was an original and integral part of the

¹ This is clearly proved also by The Pentateuch, &c., 8vo, 1868. Dr. W. Smith (a Roman Catholic). Pp. 46, 47.

Pentateuch.”¹ There seems to be a special reference in Amos iv. 9, v. 11, and vi. 12 to Deut. xxviii. 22, 30, 39, xxix. 18. If, therefore, according to the favourite hypothesis of some of the Higher Critics, the prophet Jeremiah wrote Deuteronomy, he must have had at least the Book of Numbers before him; whereas, according to some of these critics, Deuteronomy is the oldest book, and precedes the others.

Moses represented as the author in the book itself, and in the Old and New Testament.

2. The book claims Mosaic authorship—the author of *the Law*—which is not *merely the law repeated in Deuteronomy, but the whole law* contained in the preceding four books which constitute the Pentateuch, of which Deuteronomy is a necessary part, and without which the law (Thorah) would be incomplete. By itself, Deuteronomy is also an incomplete statement of the law, a commentary which implies the existence of a text, that is to say, the laws in the preceding books. It is not properly a compendium of the law; for many important matters in the law, and among them the laws respecting sacrifice, are not noticed. “It is an authoritative and inspired commentary on the law, serving in some respects also as a supplement and codicil to it.”² The first and great commandment of the law, Matthew xxii. 27—30 is found in Deuteronomy vi. 5, and the second is found in Leviticus xix. 18. Every passage in the Old and New Testament which refers to the law as given by Moses attests at the same time the genuineness of Deuteronomy. “In the historical books of the Old Testament, the law of the Lord is directly mentioned on at least thirty different occasions. . . . In at least fifteen of these instances Moses is mentioned as the giver of

¹ Rev. Dr. Murphy, of Belfast, on the Book of Deuteronomy, in *cal Review*,” No. CIII. pp. 111, 112.
² “Speaker’s Com.,” Vol. I. p. 792.

the law. In fifteen the law is affirmed to be written, and in more than nine it is said to be written, by Moses. It is also to be remarked that Moses is named eighty times in the New Testament, and among these twenty-four times as the author, and fifteen times as the writer, of the whole or part of the law."¹ The three texts quoted by our Lord in reply to the Tempter are taken from Deuteronomy chap. viii. 3, vi. 13, 16. The formula used by our Lord, "It is written" (Matthew iv. 10), implies that the book (Deuteronomy) is a portion of the Word of God. The critics whose theories relegate the Pentateuch to the time of the later kings of Israel or Judah, assume that "It may fairly be made a question whether Moses left in writing any other laws than the commandments on the tables of stone;" yet in the article in which this opinion is expressed it is admitted that "the Semitic people possessed the art of writing and an alphabetical character from a date so remote as to be lost in the mists of antiquity."² Why should Moses have been ignorant of the art of writing, or have neglected to use it? The only documents existing which have any pretensions to be received as evidence as to what Moses did or did not, speak expressly of his writing himself, or commanding others to write. Our Lord says expressly that Moses "wrote" (Mark x. 5), and again in John v. 46 more emphatically, and referring not merely to the *Law*, but to his prophetic character. "*There is one that accuseth you, even Moses in whom ye trust, for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed in Me, for he wrote of Me.*" The pertinent remark of the Rev. T. E. Espin, in the "Introduction to the Book of Deuteronomy," is conclusive.³ "It is in vain to urge in reply

Testi-
mony of
our Lord.

¹ Rev. Dr. Murphy, p. 113.

² "Encyclopædia Britannica,"

Vol. XI. pp. 597, 598.

³ "Speaker's Commentary,"

Vol. I. p. 800.

Objections that the inspiration of the Apostles, and even the in-
 on the dwelling of the Spirit *without measure* in the Saviour,
 ground of the Spirit would not necessarily preserve them from mistakes on
 the limita- would not necessarily preserve them from mistakes on
 tion of such subjects as the authorship of ancient writings, or
 of our Lord's such subjects as the authorship of ancient writings, or
 knowledge to fortify such assertions by remarking that our Lord,
 in His as the Son of Man, was Himself ignorant of some
 human things. Even were we warranted in inferring from St.
 nature things. Even were we warranted in inferring from St.
 answered. Luke ii. 54, St. Mark xiii. 32, that some things were not
 known to the Lord as the Son of Man, because His
 human faculties must have been finite, yet the answer
 overlooks the important distinction between ignorance
 and error. To be conscious that much truth lies beyond
 the range of the intelligence is compatible with the per-
 fection of the creature, which of course must be finite
 perfection;¹ but to be deceived by the fraud of others and
 to fall into error is not so. To assert then that He who
 is 'the Truth' believed Deuteronomy to be the work of
 Moses, and quoted it expressly as such, though it was
 in fact a forgery introduced into the world seven or
 eight centuries after the Exodus, is in effect, even though
 not in intention, to impeach the perfection and sinless-
 ness of His nature, and seems thus to gainsay the first
 principle of Christianity."

3. The remarks of Dr. Gossman in reference to this book are worthy of the notice of the reader. "It shows the skill, the genius, the ceaseless watch and care, the high literary culture, the vast resources of the author, if later than Moses, that he has so constructed his work, breathed into it so largely the Mosaic spirit, that there should be so little to awaken suspicion; that he should have imposed upon his contemporaries, and upon all the succeeding ages, until the sharp eyes of the modern critics detected the imposition. It is an instance

¹ Cf. "Butler's Analogy," Part I. chap. v.

which has no parallel in the literary annals of the world.”¹

4. The conclusion may be given in the language of Dr. Murphy. “We believe, therefore, that with the exception of the thirty-fourth chapter, and possibly the thirty-first and thirty-third, it was written by Moses in the Book of the Law in the eleventh month of the fortieth year of the wandering of Israel in the wilderness; and we are profoundly thankful for the light it sheds on the way of God with man.”

¹ Lange's Com. Numbers and Deut., imp. 8vo, p. 246.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CRITICAL HYPOTHESES CONSIDERED.

Tradi-
tional be-
lief of the
Churches.

I. In order to estimate rightly the validity and weight of the objections of the Higher Criticism, to the commonly received opinions respecting the age and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, they must be considered in connection with the reasons given by the orthodox in defence of the traditional belief of the Church. "The calm acquiescence of three thousand years"¹ in the age and Mosaic authorship of the books will be found to rest on foundations too strong, and too deeply grounded, to be shaken by the speculative unbelief of the sceptical critics of the last two centuries. The reasons assigned by the orthodox are:—

Five
reasons in
defence of
the
orthodox
belief.

First. The unanimous teaching of the Jewish Church, without variation or exception, from the period of the Exode to the present time: (the fact that within the last few centuries there have been individual rabbis sceptically influenced is no exception to this statement.)

Second. There is no antecedent improbability to be pleaded, why Moses should not have written the books ascribed to him. It is now universally admitted that the art of writing alphabetically, or something tantamount to it, was known to the Egyptians and the Shemitish nations in Syria, and on the Euphrates, for many ages before Moses. The art of writing is ascribed to Moses, and to

¹ Dr. Smith's (Roman Catholic) "Pentateuch," Vol. I. pp. 11, 228.

others in the Pentateuch, as an ordinary custom, an art in common use, at least, among the higher or learned classes of the Jewish people, as a reference to any concordance will show. Ewald admits that Israel knew it and used it in Egypt before the time of Moses. There are Egyptian MSS. (papyri) extant, earlier than the time of Abraham, and records in stone and brick of equal antiquity are being dug out of the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; proofs sufficient of the prevalence of the art of writing, and of the existence of a learned class and of a literature, ages before the Exode. This being the case, when the five books, or rather the five portions of the one book ascribed to Moses, are presented to us with the evidence of the consent and authority of the Jewish Church, we have every reason to receive the testimony. So far from there being any antecedent improbability against Moses having written, it would be very strange if Moses had not written, considering his position as the divinely-appointed leader and legislator of the Israelitish people. We might naturally expect from him a record of contemporary history, preceded by a *résumé* of the history and origines of the race, and a detailed account of the legislation, adapted to the present condition and future spiritual relations of the "peculiar people of God," to the world at large. The existence of such a book at such a time is what might be anticipated as most probable, and the absence of such a book would excite surprise rather than its existence. We have the book, and it must in all fairness be admitted that the so-called "traditional belief" as to its origin is, of all suppositions, the most probable, and that it is supported by evidence which it is all but impossible to gainsay.

Thirdly. The evidence afforded by the sacred and other books of the Jewish Church to the antiquity of the

Pentateuch, "is one continuous unbroken chain of testimony from Joshua to Josephus." Let any one take the references in our English Bible and judge for themselves. These references have been most luminously exhibited by Dr. Browne, the Bishop of Winchester, in the Introduction to the Pentateuch.¹ It is remarkable, and may be fairly quoted as a proof of the fairness and impartiality of these remains of the sacred literature of the Jewish people, that they are singularly free from the self-laudation generally conspicuous in the national literature of other nations; on the other hand, these writings which testify to the unfaithfulness, corruption, and punishment of the Jewish people, are transmitted by them to us as of Divine authority. We may also add, that the credibility of the Jewish annals, when brought in contact with those of Egypt and the Eastern nations, is confirmed by their general agreement.

Fourthly. The anachronisms, discrepancies, differences, and obscurities which are supposed to exist in the Pentateuch, can be satisfactorily accounted for, as in the case of writings of a similar character. For ages they had passed under the eyes of the Jewish critics, and were regarded by them as trivialities and difficulties only because of the deficiency of more minute information, and as having no bearing upon the general fidelity of the books themselves: their existence raised no doubt in the Jewish mind, and they were not tempted to tamper with the text, in order to remove these apparent contradictions.

Fifthly. The testimony of our Lord and His Apostles, to which reference has been already made, and on which we need not enlarge: one quotation from Mark xii. 26 will be sufficient, "*Have ye not read in the Book of Moses,*

¹ "Speaker's Commentary," Vol. I., Introd. pp. 4—14.

how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?" The testimony of our Lord, no critical sophistry can weaken or set aside. The fact of the voluntary limitation of our Lord's omniscience in the days of His humiliation as man, has nothing to do with this point. *He* could not possibly, even as man, teach *error*, by giving the sanction of His authority to books as written by Moses, which, according to the critics, were in reality the product of a later age.

2. Before entering upon the further consideration of the objections of the Higher Critics to the genuineness of the Pentateuch, it will be necessary to premise that there are three leading foundation principles of criticism openly, or tacitly assumed by most of the critics of that school, to which we demur as not having any legitimate place in the discussions respecting the Pentateuch, or, in fact, in any part of the sacred Scriptures, when considered from a profoundly Christian standpoint. These are—(1) the denial of, or, what is practically the same, the ignoring of the miraculous, as an interference with the laws of nature, altogether impossible; (2) the denial of the possibility of prophecy, which is in all cases regarded as a "*vaticinium ex eventu*" (a foreseeing after the event); (3) the indifference shown to the evidence of the New Testament, by which the Higher Critic is left to decide any question regarding the books of the Old Testament on internal evidence, without any reference to the most important external authority. If we admit the first two principles, we must give up not only the Old and New Testament, but the reality of any direct revelation from God. The accepting of the third would shut us out from the most valuable of all our sources of information—the infallible testimony of

Objections to the three leading assumptions of the Higher Criticism.

the Holy Spirit, stamping His own imprimatur upon the writings of the "*holy men of God*" who "*spake and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*" (2 Peter i. 21). We do not regard the miracles recorded in the Pentateuch as "the exaggerations of a later age."¹ We cannot deal with prophecy in the fashion of the most learned and able of these critics. "The Deity does not see fit, as far as we can judge, to impart to any man like Jacob, the foreknowledge of future and distant events. . . . The true way of dealing with the prophecy is simply to ascertain by internal evidence the time in which it was written; on the only tenable and philosophical ground of its having been put into the mouth of the dying patriarch by a succeeding writer."² Neither can we agree to exclude the New Testament as an authority in Biblical criticism, which would be "to shut out the sun, in order to enjoy the luxury of groping and stumbling by the light of a hazy moon."³ We assume as an essential evidence of any revelation from Heaven, the miracles which appear to interfere with natural law and which are manifested in the supernatural foresight of prophecy, and we gladly avail ourselves of the light which the New Testament throws upon the older revelation given to the Jewish Church.

3. The hypotheses exhibited in the fifth chapter are all, more or less, theories which are opposed to the views hitherto held by the Churches: differing and discordant as they are, they agree in setting aside what they are in the habit of regarding as the mere "traditionary belief" of the Churches; in which phrase is implied that this belief of the Churches is little better than a blind re-

¹ Davidson's "Int. O. Test.," Vol. I. p. 131.

² *Ibid.* p. 198.

³ Dr. Smith's "Pentateuch," Vol. I. p. 26.

ception, without inquiry, of the notions existing in comparatively dark and ignorant periods of the world's history ; as if the questions in dispute had not been discussed from the very beginning of Christianity, and especially during the last three centuries, as has been shown in the second (Introductory) chapter. The advocates of the "traditional belief" are not unacquainted with the old deistical arguments of a past generation ; which they recognise as revived with some important modifications, accompanied by the taking up of new positions and the raising of new points by the opposing critics of the present day. The difference in the mode of procedure between the old and new opponents is marked ; the former, kept within a more limited range of inquiry, discussed questions of historical and documentary evidence, examined with critical acumen the authorities for the facts of the sacred history, enlarged greatly upon discrepancies, contradictions, and anachronisms, making the contest a sort of hand-to-hand fight, as if to secure some petty positions which seemed to them to be the key of the vantage ground and the way to victory, but seldom appealing to the principles of critical interpretation. The case is far otherwise with the Higher Critics of our day : without entirely disregarding the points upon which their predecessors placed the whole stress of the contest, they go far deeper, questioning not merely what appears to them, as to their predecessors, unhistorical and untrustworthy in the narrative of the sacred books, but the very groundwork and composition of the books themselves. To them, none of these books is in itself the production of one mind, but each is a composite creation of varied authorship, and of uncertain date, knowing no Divine authority—in other words, a purely human growth, in

Astruc's
theory the
founda-
tion of the
Higher
Criticism.

which human infirmity and even human untruthfulness are frequently prominent. The entire weight of the Higher Criticism rests, in fact, upon Astruc's theory, amplified indeed, and presented in a multiplied variety of details in its application, but still the identical theory of the old French physician. Take away the "Elohistic and Jehovistic" scheme of authorship, and the rough-and-ready manipulation and disintegration of the sacred books, which is the result of the application of the theory, and the Higher Criticism is of no value; the foundation destroyed, the whole superstructure collapses.

Results
following
the rejection
of
Astruc's
theory.

4. Having already noticed (in the fifth chapter) the peculiar theories advanced by the Higher Critics, including *Bishop Colenso* and others, we may now refer to the logical consequences of the rejection of the "Elohistic and Jehovistic" theories, in their application by the critics to the settlement of the authorship and the dates of the books of the Pentateuch. In the *first* place, the notion of the plurality of authorships in the Pentateuch, viz., the Elohist, Jehovist, Elohist Second, Deuteronomist, Redactor, is at once set aside. *Secondly*, the nice critical perception of *Bishop Colenso*, *Dr. S. Davidson*, *De Wette*, *Ewald*, and others as to the peculiar styles and mental idiosyncrasies of these creations of the critical faculty, are proved to be freaks of the imagination: Samuel is cleared from the charge of being the Elohist, and as having collected the legendary stories which were current in his day, the tales of the Hebrew tribes, and making them the foundation of the Elohistic narrative, according to *Bishop Colenso*. "In this work he has set the example of introducing, into the narrative, the Divine Being Himself, as conversing with their forefathers, and imparting laws to Moses, . . . but in this respect he has only

Bishop
Colenso's
account of
Samuel
as the
Elohist.

acted in conformity with the spirit of his age, and of his people, which recognised, in their common forms of language, a direct Divine interference with the affairs of men : the case indeed would have been different, if the writer had stated that these Divine communications had been made to himself ;" but most singularly Dr. Colenso supposes that Samuel never professed "to be recording infallible truth, or even actual historical truth. . . . Why may not Samuel have composed this narrative for the instruction and improvement of his pupils, from which it would gradually find its way, no doubt, more or less freely among the people at large, without even pretending that it was any other than a historical *experiment*, an attempt to give them some account of the early annals of their tribes? In later days, it is true, this ancient work of Samuel's came to be regarded as infallibly Divine. But was it so regarded in the writer's days, or in the ages immediately following?"¹ The Jehovist, who is supposed to be the same with the Second Elohist in a more advanced stage of his intellectual growth, was (according to *Bishop Colenso*) probably a disciple of Samuel: his work is now incorporated with that of the Elohist, not as a mere appendage, but so interwoven and welded in, that both have been read for above three thousand years as the work of one author. Yet in the nineteenth century of our era, Bishop Colenso sees "characteristic peculiarities," besides the use of the Divine names, which have been discriminated and assigned to their respective authors, "by a vigorous process of deduction, from a great variety of conspiring peculiarities, . . . a process which, to our own mind, has the force of an absolute demonstration." *Dr. Davidson* advocates the existence of a junior Elohist, Dr. Davidson's theory.

¹ Part II. Concluding remarks.

Failure
of the
mode of
fixing the
date of the
Sacred
Books.

who lived in the time of Elisha ; a Redactor, who lived some time before the Deuteronomist. This is an illustration of the treacherous nature of subjective criticism, which both to *Bishop Colenso* and *Dr. Davidson* has been "the most fascinating of literary illusions." *Thirdly*, the attempt to gather from the use of the sacred name of God, by the supposed writers, the means by which the late date of the books of the Pentateuch can be proved, also falls to the ground. There are, according to the Bishop, traces of the Elohist perceptible to the critics up to the time of Samuel, and there are two Elohist passages in Genesis ; one, chap. xxxvi. 39, referring to kings reigning in Edom before there was any king reigning in Israel, is a proof that the Elohist lived after or in the days of Saul ; the other passage relates to the field of Machpelah, Genesis xxiii. 17, 18, and was intended by the Elohist to give peculiar dignity to that city ; and, comparing it with what is recorded 2 Samuel ii. 1—3, it is obvious that Hebron was no longer the royal city. Dr. Colenso thinks that David's priestly and prophetic advisers wished him to keep Hebron as his capital, and hence the passage in Genesis. The Jehovist is placed in the reign of David and the early days of Solomon—(1) because of the prophecy respecting Canaan's posterity, Genesis ix. 25—27, a Jehovistic passage which was intended to justify Solomon's treatment of the Canaanites, 1 Kings ix. 20, 21 ; (2) on account of the prophecy respecting the fate of Esau's race, Genesis xxv. 23—27, a Jehovistic passage which was fulfilled in the account of the conquest of Edom, and its rebellion and liberation, recorded in 2 Samuel viii. 14, 1 Kings vi. 21, 22. These specimens of subjective criticism lose even the appearance of plausibility, when deprived of the slender measure of support which the

connection with the Elohist and Jehovist gives to them. *Fourthly*, the absurd and incredible theory of the peculiar complex character of the composition of the books of the Pentateuch falls with the "Elohistic and Jehovistic" theory. According to the critics, the Pentateuch consists of partially alternate layers of historical matter—(1) the composition of the Elohist; (2) this supplemented by the Jehovist; (3) certain additions by the Elohist Junior or the Jehovist Junior; (4) then the Deuteronomist, having forged the Book of Deuteronomy, and while editing the writings of his predecessors, interpolates seven hundred and eighteen verses and a half verse in the books from Genesis to Numbers (as far as Numbers was then extant), and also in the Book of Joshua; (5) within less than two centuries the Jewish priesthood forged almost the entire Book of Leviticus, with additional interpolations in Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua, amounting to seventeen hundred and seventy-nine verses and half a verse! It is marvellous to note, in *Bishop Colenso*, the absence of all consciousness of the absolute impossibility of such a series of literary manipulations and forgeries being applied to the law books of a nation. We may easily admit the probability of additions, glosses, and corrections of a minor character, but to suppose such a series of systematic forgeries, for which there is not a shadow of proof (beyond the necessities of a wild hypothesis), is impossible for any man not wedded to a theory.

Absurd
theory
of the
complex
composite
character
of the
Sacred
Books.

5. The appeals made by the orthodox critics of the old school, to the evidence of the existence of the Pentateuch, from the references to it in the books from Joshua to Malachi, have been rudely derided by the Higher Critics, and by *Bishop Colenso* and *Davidson* especially. This is the natural consequence of the necessity of sup-

porting their theory, according to which portions of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, are of various dates, from the age of Samuel to the period of the captivity; and the Book of Deuteronomy is a forgery by Jeremiah; the historical books following the Pentateuch in the order of our Bibles being also, according to this theory, of a later date than generally supposed. The references to the Pentateuch which have certainly been recognised in the later historical books, in the Psalms and prophetic writings, are by them explained away as being made to the traditional common law of the nation, or to a fragment of the law in circulation, or to a mere extract of an ancient law; in fact, to anything but the Pentateuch itself. To those who adopt these views of the Higher Criticism, and to those only, the language of *Dr. S. Davidson* on this point must appear natural. "Nothing can be more fallacious or inconsequent than the statements of Hengstenberg and his followers. In the historical books, from Joshua to Chronicles inclusive, passages are collected referring to places in the Pentateuch. All the prophetic literature is treated in the same manner. Obadiah, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Hosea, are made to yield abundant testimony. The poetical literature, such as the Book of Psalms and the Proverbs, is adduced for the same purpose. By such a process an imposing array of passages is made out. Its very length and largeness are deceptive. It serves to fill up pages in English books into which it is transferred in the lump. But, when sifted, its importance vanishes. All that is really relevant amounts to little. . . . It is convenient for Hengstenberg, Havernick, Keil, Caspari, &c., to overlook all the late dates of almost all the historical books in which they find quotations from, or

Dr. Davidson's objections to the evidence of the writers of the other books of the Old Testament to the antiquity of the Pentateuch.

allusions to, the Pentateuch. It is also convenient to ignore the fact that unwritten historical tradition may have supplied another with many things which are also recorded in the Books of Moses. It is highly conducive to their cause to ignore the separate existence of the Elohim and Jehovah documents, before they were incorporated in the present Pentateuch. It suits their purpose to amass everything in the other books that have a semblance to the Pentateuch, and say, 'Here are plain allusions to the written Pentateuch we now have.'"¹ Without noticing the slighting reference to *Hengstenberg* and other critics (who are in all respects the equals of *Dr. Davidson* in learning and position, though advocating opposite views), our reply to this "tirade" (for such it is) is, that these learned critics and the whole of the orthodox school do not admit *Dr. Davidson's* premises, but deny the existence of separate Elohist and Jehovist, &c., portions in the Sacred Books, or of any written histories and traditions received as authorities by the Jewish Church, except those in the Canon; they believe also in the existence of a series of authentic writers from Moses to Malachi, in whose writings there are many continuous distinct references to the Pentateuch; as also in the New Testament from Matthew to Revelations, as may be seen in the marginal references of the English Bible. Their procedure is in perfect consistency with their premises, though utterly opposite to *Dr. Davidson's* theory.

6. One great defect observable in the speculations of *Bishop Colenso*, *Dr. Davidson*, and their Continental authorities, is that common to all the higher critical school, when dealing with the question of the origin

¹ *Davidson*, Vol. I. p. 55.

Influence of dogmatic foregone conclusions in the Higher Criticism.

and composition of the books of the Old Testament, namely, the overpowering influence of a dogmatic prepossession. Under this influence, the critic invariably finds in the books under examination what he is looking for. As in a Spanish auberge, the traveller can always be supplied *out of his own stores*, so the critic revels in his own preconceived and foregone conclusions, and *what he brings with him, he naturally finds*, as he anticipated. And so, in the defence of their system; having already *assumed*, as facts proven, the truth of the Astruc theory, the authorship of Deuteronomy in the reign of Josiah, and the *post-exilian* origin of the Mosaic legislation; then, as the natural result of these assumptions, every passage in *our* Pentateuch and in the succeeding books, which appear to confirm the "traditional belief" in the Mosaic authorship, the priesthood of Aaron and his family, and the existence of the Levitical law, is at once branded as an interpolation of the Deuteronomist, or the post-exilian Levitical legislation. To confront and reply to such criticism, is like reasoning on an arithmetical question, with one whose numeration table differs from that of the authorised text books. So also in the exercise of their microscopic criticisms, occasionally so strict, and at other times so lax, it is difficult to ascertain their principles of judgment: they seem to be such as, if applied to the history of any nation, or to any statements in the current journals, would be rejected by the common sense of mankind as mere quibbling, unworthy of notice. If all events related by one author, but omitted by another are to be regarded as doubtful—if a difference in the details of a narrative on the part of the narrators be a reason for rejecting it as untrustworthy—if apparent discrepancies, or apparent blank contradictions are to shake our faith in

the verity of the historian, then, on Dr. Colenso's principles of criticism, the books of the Old Testament are unhistorical—and so are all the histories ever written. But the contrary view is universally admitted by all critics uninfluenced by preconceived theories; they are aware that these so-called discrepancies and contradictions have passed through the critical alembic of Jewish scholars for the last two thousand years, and yet these men, many of them broad in their religious opinions, and tinged with the sceptical tendencies of the Arabian school of philosophy, although they must have noticed the points which have proved stumbling-blocks to Modern Critics, appear to disregard them as difficulties only apparent, arising out of the absence of further and more detailed information.

7. Again we remind the reader of the greatest and most conclusive of all testimonies.

Is it irreverent to suppose that the "GREAT TEACHER," knowing the perplexities into which the speculations of the learned would involve the simple and unlearned of *His* followers in future years, mercifully took occasion to clear away by *His* plain, unmistakable, and decided testimony, the cloudy indistinctness which Modern Criticism has thrown around this important question? (1) While some learned scholars have decided that the Patriarchs are mythical personages, our Lord refers to them as real persons. See Matthew iii. 9, viii. 11, xxii. 32; Luke xiii. 28; John viii. 37, 56—58. (2) He represents Abraham as having had a glimpse of *His* office and work. Compare John viii. 56, "*Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he saw it and was glad,*" with the following verse (57), and with Genesis xxii. 8, 13, 14, and Hebrews xi. 17—19. (3) While *Bishop Colenso* intimates that the name of Moses may be "re-

Conclu-
sive testi-
mony of
our Lord
to the Pen-
tateuch.

garded as merely that of the imaginary leader of the people out of Egypt, a person quite as shadowy and unhistorical as Æneas in the history of Rome, and our own King Arthur," our Lord, "THE GREAT TEACHER," expressly refers to Him as a real living actor and law-giver at the period of the Exodus, and of the residence of Israel in the wilderness. Look at the following passages. "*He saith unto them, Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives ; but from the beginning it was not so*" (Matthew xix. 8 ; Mark x. 3). "*The scribes and the pharisees sit in Moses' seat*" (Matthew xxiii. 2). "*And He said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead*" (Luke xvi. 31). "*Now that the dead are raised, even Moses showed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob ; for he is not a God of the dead but of the living ; for all live unto Him*" (Luke xx. 37, 38). "*And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up*" (John iii. 14). "*There is one that accuseth you, even Moses in whom ye trust ; for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me ; for he wrote of Me* (referring to Deuteronomy xviii. 15) ; *but if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe My words ?*" (John v. 45—47). "*Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven, but My Father giveth you the true bread from heaven*" (John vi. 32). "*Did not Moses give you the law ?*" (John vii. 19). "*Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision*" (John vii. 22). (4) Our Lord pays special deference to the writings of Moses, *i.e.* the Pentateuch, making it the foundation of His discourse to the disciples on the road to Emmaus : "*And beginning at Moses and*

all the prophets, He expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself," and again to the assembled disciples, when He told them that "*all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning Me*" (Luke xxiv. 27, 44). (5) Our Lord refers in Matthew xxii. 37—40 to Deuteronomy vi. 5, as containing the first and great commandment, and to Leviticus xix. 18, as containing the second. "*Then one of them which was a lawyer, asked Him a question, tempting Him, and saying, Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.*" But our Lord's highest testimony to the Book of Deuteronomy is found in the fact, that in His great temptation after His baptism (as recorded in Matthew, chap. iv.) He repels the Tempter by three quotations from that book: the quotations are in Deuteronomy viii. 3 and vi. 16 and 13. Well may we apply to the Sadducees of the nineteenth century, the words addressed by our Lord to the Sadducees of His day: "*Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God*" (Matthew xxiii. 29).

CHAPTER VIII.

THEORY OF THE POST-EXILIAN ORIGIN OF THE LEVITICAL
INSTITUTION.

1. The question of the authorship and age of Deuteronomy is connected with what is considered by the Higher Critics as "the leading controversy of the day." We are told that the critics, having proved the non-Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy, have taken up the old theory of *Vatke*, first propounded in 1835, respecting the post-exilian origin of the major portion of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers (the three middle books of the Pentateuch). According to this theory, the legislation attributed to Moses, by the Jewish Church and by our Lord, is not that of ancient Israel, but "a priestly reconstruction:" one class of critics considers this "reconstruction" to have originated in a conspiracy of the priestly class to exalt the prerogatives and worldly position of their order, regardless of the just claims of the Levites; this is the view substantially taken by *Graf*, *Kuenen*, *Schultz* and *Wellhausen* in Germany, and by *Bishop Colenso* in England. A more sober and less unfavourable estimate of the moral bearing of this procedure is however taken by *Professor William Robertson Smith*. Before entering upon this new phase of the critical questions respecting the Pentateuch, it may be well to quote, from an able writer, a retrospective record of the lines of progress in which the Higher Criticism has marched in our day. The quotation is

Vatke the
First
Originator
of this
Theory.

from an article in the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review,"¹ by the Rev. Alfred Cave.

2. "There have been many changes in the object of attack. At one time it was the unity of Genesis; at another of Genesis and Exodus; at another of the entire Pentateuch; yet again, of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, or the so-called Hexateuch. . . . The method of attack has undergone many changes. First there was the adoption of the rough-and-ready test of the Divine names; then additional linguistic considerations were introduced; yet more refined methods were subsequently brought to bear, and apparent anachronisms, supposed omissions, too congruous repetitions, and too incongruous contradictions, peculiarities of phrase, and peculiarities of thought, differences in lexicology, and differences in literary style, psychological assumptions, and theological bias, the conclusions of philosophers, and the intuition of experts, even the data of the modern theory of evolution, and a presumptively axiomatic conception of the origin and growth of religion—this whole armoury of weapons has been ransacked to enliven and press the controversy; and different results have been successively claimed. To some it seemed proven that the Pentateuch was a compilation from several documents, whether two or three or four or many in number; to their successors the so-called Book of the Law was the ultimate product of various supplementings and revisions of an original story. As for the age of the various writers or editors, opinions very widely differed. Nevertheless, regarded in mass, there has been a sort of progress in their critical views, marked by three distinct phases. In the *first* phase, the Pentateuch was regarded as a compilation from two or more writers of an earlier

Retro-
spective
glance at
at the
Theories
of the
Critical
School.

¹ No. CXII., April 1880, pp. 249, 250.

Well-
hausen's
Stand-
point.

age, the time of the compilation being variously stated to be as early as the days of Samuel, and as late as the exile. In the *second* phase, the former contention was discarded, and the Pentateuch came to be looked upon as the final outcome of successive editings of a *Groundschrift*, or original narrative; the original narrative being considered to belong to an early age of the Jewish history, Deuteronomy being accepted as the latest of the five books; and the ecclesiastical system of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers (Exodus xxv.—xl. except xxxii.—xxxiv.; all Leviticus and Numbers i.—x., xv.—xix., xxv.—xxxvi., with a few exceptions), the *Priester-Codex* of *Wellhausen*, being included in the original narrative and being of high antiquity, in all probability an oral tradition from the days of Moses. The *third* phase has in its turn revolutionised the second: the conception of a series of editors is retained, but Deuteronomy is supposed to succeed the *Groundschrift* in age, but to precede the *Priester-Codex*, which in the form in which we now possess it, is described as certainly posterior to the exile. It is this third view that Wellhausen maintains."

The
Leading
Advocates
of the
Post-
Exilian
Theory.

3. The critics whose opinions we now proceed to state have been reserved for a separate account of their views, though agreeing for the most part with the supporters of the hypotheses already noticed. They give in addition a peculiar prominence to the new and popular theory of the late origin of the Levitical system, and are its main supporters in Germany and the Continent generally, as well as in England. (1) *Graf*, the leading originator of this last theory, 1864, refers to *Vatke*, who in 1835, "looking at the gap between Genesis and Exodus, was convinced that Mosaism was a product of the prophetic period;" his work, "The

Religion of the Old Testament," is considered by *Wellhausen* to be "the most important contribution ever made to the history of ancient Israel." In the same year, *George*, in his treatise "On the Ancient Feasts," expressed his conviction that the Book of Deuteronomy, though late, contained an older form of the law than Leviticus; this opinion was unheeded until adopted by *Graf*. *Riehm*, in his "Treatise on Deuteronomy," 1850, ascribes the book to a writer in the time of Manasseh, 667—640 B.C., but always opposed *Graf's* opinion as to his late legislation in Leviticus, &c. *Graf* began his theory by recognising Genesis as the oldest portion of the Pentateuch, and Leviticus, &c., as more modern; but on *Riehm* showing, that the history of the legislation belonged to the same age, *Graf* remarked that "nothing but custom required us to regard the history as ancient," and then placed the whole after the exile. With *Van Bohler*, *Hitzig*, and *Kemp*, *Graf* thinks that all passages in the Pentateuch referring to the Levitical sacrifices, &c., are forgeries of a later date; that Deuteronomy was a forgery by the prophet Jeremiah; that Ezra invented, after the exile, the laws respecting the tabernacle, the sacrifices and feasts, &c. He also inclines to the opinion that Leviticus, chaps. xviii. to xx., xxvi., are the product of Jeremiah's pen. (2) *Kuenen* (the Dutch critic), in his "Introduction to the Old Testament," 1866, in his "Religion of Israel," translated into English, 1874, and in his work "On the Prophets," translated into English in 1877, agrees generally with *Graf*. In his opinion, the books containing the early history of Israel are largely legendary, consisting for the most part of garbled and modified statements, up to the middle of the eighth century B.C., a mere mass of unreliable tradition. The patriarchs are not historical persons, but *myths*; the

Graf.

Kuenen.

twelve tribes are not descended from the sons of Jacob. It is possible that Moses was the author of the ten commandments, but not in their present form ; and that the Israelites were slaves led out from Egypt by him, but in much smaller numbers than those stated in the narrative. The Book of the Covenant, Exodus xxi. to xxii., contained the oldest collection of laws. The Book of Deuteronomy was written by the high priest Hilkiah, 625 B.C., as a reform programme, and was foisted upon Moses, though it does not rest on any reliable Mosaic tradition. Leviticus, chaps. xviii. to xxvi., were composed by Ezekiel, the latter portion of whose prophecy forms the connecting link between Deuteronomy and the middle books of the Pentateuch (Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers); these were planned by Ezra as his programme of legal restoration after the return from exile. The prophets, the true spiritual teachers of Israel, who had from the eighth century withstood the corruption of the kings and people, and from whom we receive our only reliable information, were silenced by the growing legalism of the times ; and the Books of Chronicles were written last of all—long after Ezra—to modify the old histories so as to suit the ends of the priestly legislation of Ezra. So far from the Israelitish religion originating in a revelation from God, it was at first a low, degraded fetichism, which by the teaching of the prophets was raised to monotheism. It is, then, the result of a natural development. In a word, instead of the Levitical laws being the earliest, they came after the prophetic period, and they originated in the narrow sacerdotal spirit of Ezekiel, which pervaded the *régime* of Ezra and Nehemiah, and to which we owe the peculiarities of modern Judaism, as seen in the Pharisaism of the New Testament

and the Rabbinism of a later period. (3) *Schultz*¹ has recanted his former views in reference to the Levitical laws being a part of the oldest laws in the Pentateuch; he now thinks that ritual laws existed early in Israel (legendary, yet, according to his views, a legend is an appropriate bearer of the birth of a revelation); but the laws in the Pentateuch, as it now is, were not known in the times of the older prophets. Neither Deuteronomy nor the Jehovist had any knowledge of the Pentateuch. The whole history of the cultus, as it may be traced in the oldest historical writings, is incompatible with the assumption that a law book could have existed, presenting a form so developed and fixed, of the religious practice in its minute details: he therefore places the Pentateuch after the exile. (4) *Wellhausen*² in the main agrees with Graf, and carries out his views to a fuller development. In the Pentateuch, he thinks there is a portion by the Jehovist (Genesis and Exodus) of early date; a combination of a Jehovist and Elohist document. The earlier historical books, Judges, Samuel, and the Books of Kings, are complex in their structure; their final redaction was by the writer of Deuteronomy, and reflects the opinion of that first simple legislation: then follows the priestly codex, *i.e.*, the Levitical ordinances (part of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers), introduced and established after the return from exile, when the last editor, from a priestly standpoint, revised the whole: he admits that behind the redaction of the Deuteronomist are older elements, which existed before the recognition of any written *Thorah*, and that, going down to the earlier strata of the narrative, we get beyond even the influence of prophetic ideas and find ourselves

Schultz.

Well-
hausen.

¹ In his "Alt Testamentlich Theologie." 1878.

² "Geschichte Israels." 1878.

in contact with a *naïve* habit of thought, such as the earliest religious ordinances of Israel presuppose. The date of the Jehovist work is supposed to be between the decline of the kingdoms and the Assyrian captivity. Deuteronomy, either in the time of Isaiah or in the Assyrian age. The object of *Wellhausen's* "Critical History of the Pentateuch and Historical Books," is to show, that the successive phases of historical traditions in Israel, were parallel to the successive developments of the sacred ordinances; for instance, that the prophets of the Assyrian period reflect the Jehovist standpoint, those of the Chaldæan period that of the Deuteronomist, and that the post-exile writers equally bear witness to the influence of the priestly codex. It certainly requires the prepossession of the critic, to detect these signs of correspondence between those prophets and their supposed religious standpoint. In this case the eye sees what it brings with it. The latest example of this influence of the priestly codex is found in the Books of Chronicles, which, according to the same critic, are thoroughly saturated with the unhistorical spirit of the priestly legislation; in short, Mosaism, in his opinion, was not a revelation to Moses, but an evolutionary development during many ages; that the law was not known until the return from captivity, and that then, and not before, were made known the ideal history of the tabernacle, the priesthood, the sacrifices, and the festivals. Beyond this, what more is possible? the Higher Criticism must have exhausted its fertile imagination. (5) *Bishop Colenso's* views are in accordance with those of *Graf, Kuenen, &c.* In Part VI. of his voluminous work, and in the concluding part VII., he has laboured most diligently to prove the non-existence of the Levitical laws before the return from captivity. He con-

siders it to be "the most important result of his criticism upon the Pentateuch" that "it strikes a death-blow at the whole system of priestcraft, which has mainly been based upon the notion that the Levitical laws in the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, were really of Mosaic, or rather of Divine, origin. We have now seen that these laws are all, without exception, the product of a very late age, during or after the captivity—the expression of the ambitious hopes and pretensions of the very numerous priestly tribe, lording it over the consciences of the comparatively small number of devoted laity, who returned from the captivity to Jerusalem, and making the position of the priest, his rank and power, his action and influence, his income and privileges, of the most supreme importance to the whole community, so that actually one half of the whole Pentateuch is employed in enforcing them in some form or other."¹ (6) *Professor W. Robertson Smith*, a man of un-

doubted learning and strict orthodoxy, differs materially from his brethren in the Free Church in regard to the Book of Deuteronomy, and the antiquity of the Levitical laws. In his opinion, "the religious institutions of Israel have not been stationary, fixed by the Mosaic legislator in the wilderness, but a growth. The Pentateuch embodies ordinances which belong to a very different stage in the progress of law and worship. The exclusive priesthood and the power of Aaron is a secondary growth, gradually developed out of the institution in the wilderness of a peculiar Levitical priesthood, to which the care of the sanctuary and the ark was committed; but which did not immediately issue in the abolition of the old family priesthood, or making it unlawful for an Israelite to offer sacrifice, with proper

W. Robertson Smith.

¹ Part VI. p. 631.

precautions, at any sacred place which had received patriarchal consecration, or had otherwise been marked out by God Himself as a place where He had set a memorial of His name; Exodus xx. 24—26 being a law not for the priests, but for all Israelites. The centralisation of all worship at the Aaronic sanctuary of the ark was of gradual growth. The institutions of Israel after the captivity are not a mere literal renewal of the laws of Moses, but the product of a long contest for the purity of religious worship, in which each victory of spiritual religion over opposing forces was embodied in a new development of the national ordinances. It was necessary in the interests of purity of worship to place formal restrictions on the exercise of altar privileges. Hence Ezekiel, a true prophet, sketches in his Book a new system of theocratical and ritual ordinances for the Israelites of the future, which was not without influence in the restored Jerusalem after the captivity." The objections which arise out of the Book of Deuteronomy have been already referred to in Chapter VI.

It will be seen that this young scholar, though agreeing with *Graf* and *Bishop Colenso*, in reference to the comparatively modern date of the Levitical system, regards that system, as established by the Jewish leaders after the captivity, as a "triumph of spiritual religion over opposing forces." He looks upon "the hierarchical theory as the latest fruit of liturgical development; that the Levitical element is the latest theory in the Pentateuch, or in the Levitical series to which the Pentateuch belongs; or, admitting the opposite view, that the hierarchical theory existed as a legal programme long before the exile, yet it was not fully carried out until after Ezra's reforms." This latter statement considerably modifies Professor Smith's theory, and brings it more

in accordance with the generally received opinions of the Churches. An exposition and candid examination of *Professor Smith's* views may be found in articles by the *Rev. Professor Watts*, of Belfast, in the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review,"¹ and by the *Rev. A. F. Simpson*, of Dalkeith, and the *Rev. F. L. Patton*, in "Dickinson's Theological Quarterly."²

¹ No. CXII., April, 1880. "Strictures on the Article 'Bible,' in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'"

² No. XXII., April, 1880. "Au-

thorship of Deuteronomy," by Rev. A. F. Simpson. "Rationalism in the Free Church of Scotland," by Rev. Doctor Patton.

CHAPTER IX.

REVIEW OF THE THEORY OF THE POST-EXILIAN ORIGIN OF THE
LEVITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

The
Middle
Books :
are they
genuine
portions
of the
Penta-
teuch ?

I. The object of the criticism set forth in the preceding chapter, is to prove that the middle books of the Pentateuch, namely, portions of Exodus, with Leviticus, and portions of Numbers, which contain the Levitical ordinances, the foundation of the Mosaic economy, were written and promulgated during the period of the captivity or soon after the return from Babylon. The theory and its consequences are put honestly, and without any qualification, by *Wellhausen*: "Is the Mosaic law the starting-point for the history of ancient Israel, or for the sect which survived the annihilation of the nation by the Assyrians and Chaldæans?" This bold speaking out, brings the controversy to a point which can be understood. In comparison with this issue, all before has been a mere skirmishing. "Upon points of language, apparent anachronisms, dual or triple or multiple repetitions, seeming contradictions, and all the paraphernalia of negative criticism, there has been too long a delay: they are but outworks and mural towers. Mosaism itself is the central citadel, and this, *Wellhausen* recognises."¹ If these "middle books" can be proved to be of post-exilian origin, then there is some

¹ Rev. A. Cave, in "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," No. CXII.; an article which contains an able examination of *Well-*

hausen's theory, and a valuable sketch of the character and uses of Judaism.

foundation for the charge, that not only Jeremiah, but Ezekiel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the writer of the Books of Chronicles have been, directly or indirectly, parties in the forgery of certain writings purporting to be a revelation from God to Moses: we are also compelled to admit that about one-fourth of the books of the Old Testament is unhistorical and without authority; and if we add to these, other portions of the Old Testament decried by modern critics, the authorised Bible will be reduced to one-half of its present size.

2. The most obvious reply to this, the most startling, the most original, the most recent, and we may add the most fallacious, of the theories, is by turning to the references to the facts of the Mosaic history and to the ritual and laws, which are found in all the books of the Old Testament from Joshua to Kings, not excluding the Chronicles; for although the Books of Chronicles, like the Books of Kings, were written after the captivity, they are books compiled from older, and for the most part contemporary, writers. These references may be found in the margins of our English Bibles. An epitome of these, accompanied by terse and pertinent remarks, is to be found in the Introduction to the Pentateuch, by the Bishop of Winchester (Harold Browne).² This epitome is of itself a satisfactory refutation of the assertion repeatedly made by the Higher Critics, to the effect that there are few (if any) references to the facts of the Mosaic history and the Levitical ordinances, in the subsequent books of the Old Testament. The argument from the supposed silence of the writers from Joshua downwards is thus disproved by facts; there are as many allusions to the history and the institutions of the Mosaic period, in the later books as could be ex-

References
to the
Penta-
teuch from
Joshua
to Chro-
nicles.

¹ "Speaker's Commentary," Vol. I. pp. 4—12.

Occasional
breaks
in the
Continuity
of the
Mosaic
Ritual and
Laws.

pected from the nature and object of the books themselves, quite as many, in proportion, as can be found to the ecclesiastical affairs (not immediately connected with political events) in the popular compendium of our English history. How few, even, are the references to the Roman, Saxon, and Norman periods of our history, or to Magna Charta, or to the Act of Settlement; not that these events are regarded as questionable, but that the mention of them is foreign to the narrative of the history of following years, and these facts are supposed to be of general notoriety. That there had been many long continued breaches in the continuity of the Mosaic ritual and worship, accompanied by a great and all but total neglect of the teachings of the Mosaic Pentateuch (the Law), is apparent by the narrative in the historical books. "If we divide the period from the days of Eli to the birth of Christ into two equal parts, we shall find that the half nearest to our own time, from 586 B.C. downwards, presents a series of quickenings and fallings away in the nation's life, exactly parallel to those which formed the outstanding features of Israel's history during the earlier half from 1170 B.C. to 586 B.C. The number of the series would seem to be almost the same in both halves. The results were clearly the same. The house of God deserted; its dues unpaid; the Levites turning to what was not their own work, or becoming lost among the other tribes; idolatry prevalent. But the law of Moses, as we now have it, was in priests' and pastors' hands through the latter half of that long period of 1170 years, although it was a dead letter until the heart of the nation was touched by a sense of duty and of danger. How then can there be a doubt in the mind of any student of history, that the quickenings and the fallings away in the earlier half, 1170 B.C. to 586 B.C.,

resulted from the same causes as in the more recent—regard for, and neglect of, the well-known four books?"¹ The same reasoning applies to the period preceding the year 1170 B.C. down to the entrance into the land of Canaan about forty years before; and the fact that a nation may possess, in the hands of its priests and rulers, a system of law and worship and duties connected therewith, acknowledged by them to be Divine while practically neglected as if altogether unknown, may be seen in our day in the case of Abyssinia. In this nominally Christian land, the books of the Old and New Testament are in the possession of the leading priests and leaders of the people; and yet the ordinary priests are ignorant, and as low in the scale of morals and civilisation as the people themselves, and Christianity as a moral power is utterly unknown.

3. But, to the evidence of the existence of the Pentateuch, adducible from the references in all the following books, from Joshua downwards, the Higher Critics make the following objections. (1) That the said references do not relate to the Pentateuch *as now existing*, but to the older portions, including "the priestly codex;" and that these more ancient documents do not imply the genuineness of the rest of the Pentateuch, which, according to their theory, originated in the composition of the Book of Deuteronomy by Jeremiah in the time of King Josiah, and of "the middle books," *i.e.*, portions of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, by "the Levitical Legislators" after the captivity. (2) That the references in the later books to the facts of the early history of the Israelites, contained in the Pentateuch, are really to old traditions, current among the people. All these objections are founded upon the

The References in the Books from Joshua, &c. to the Pentateuch.

¹ "Deuteronomy the People's Book," pp. 61, 62. 1877.

assumed correctness of the critical theories of certain learned men, to which we demur, as contrary to the evidence of facts. Nothing less than clear, undoubted evidence to the contrary, can set aside the testimony of the Jewish Church and people to the antiquity of the laws of Moses, i.e., *the venerable Thorah, identified with the Pentateuch*. No such proof is attempted to be given. We therefore, aware that the art of writing had been long known to the Shemitish races, have no difficulty in admitting the contemporaneous character of a large portion of the Pentateuchal narrative. In opposition to the theories, founded on the supposed existence of documents distinguished by the diverse use of the Divine names, and having no faith in the possibility of the forgery of Deuteronomy, or of "the middle books," at a later period; we cannot set aside the evidence of the early existence of the Pentateuch, adducible from the references in the later books from Joshua downwards, which of all species of proof is most easy to be apprehended by the most cursory readers of the Bible. Bishop Colenso's mode of dealing with this question is most unsatisfactory, and destroys all confidence in his critical acumen, when under the influence of his partisan views. For instance, the Book of Deuteronomy, which the Bishop ascribes to Jeremiah, contains, as shown by him, thirty-five quotations from, or references to, the other books of the Pentateuch; ¹ but the natural inference is, that in *this* case the Bishop admits the existence of the first four books of the Pentateuch in the time of Josiah: there is, however, no such admission; the utmost concession on his part is, that "the writer must have had the older records in his hand, and been familiar with their contents." . . . In other words, we may infer

¹ "Pentateuch Examined," Vol. VI. pp. 34—36.

from all this, that a written account of the main facts of the Exodus, did undoubtedly exist in the time of Josiah, of some antiquity, which would be known to the more devout and learned, and could be referred to as a venerable record of the ancient history of Israel." Lest we should build too much upon these concessions, we are warned "that the Deuteronomist does not treat this record as an *infallible Divine record*, nor does he by any means always adhere to the statements of the older narratives." Again, we ask, why should "the written records," "the older records," be deemed separate and distinct from the venerable Torah, which the Jewish Church has delivered to us? In another instance the Bishop comes to sweeping conclusions on very small premises. Chapters ix. and x. of the Book of Deuteronomy give an abridged account of the making of the ark, and sundry circumstances connected with it—a mere reference, as might be expected in an address. The Bishop regards the omission of the details respecting the ark, and the priestly ceremonial, as conclusive against the antiquity of Exodus xxv.—xxxi. 17, and xxxv. to xl., which he asserts were a portion of the interpolations of the Levitical legislators after the captivity. Admit this new principle, that omissions of the details of a larger narrative, in a mere reference, are to be regarded as implying disbelief of the larger narrative, what would become of our historical compendiums? So also the allusions to Moses and Aaron in Judges iii. 4; 1 Samuel xii. 6—8; 1 Kings viii. 51, 56—9, are declared to be Deuteronomist interpolations! And the references in Judges ii. 6—8, 21—23, xx. 38, to Joshua and Phineas, are by him regarded as either Deuteronomical or Levitical additions. And, in fact, all the references to the law (the Torah) in the Prophets are

supposed to be to the abridgment called the Old Story, or to the so-called "priestly Codex," or to some *traditions* of laws ascribed to Moses ! These wild conclusions have one object in view, the supporting a notion (a favourite one with the Bishop), that Moses, Aaron, and others of the old worthies were but the shadows of names, scarcely remarked or recognised in Judah and Israel, until after the time of Josiah, and the forgery of the Book of Deuteronomy.

4. The testimony afforded by the prophetic writings is disposed of in the same fashion. Kuenen and Duhm, with whom Bishop Colenso agrees, are of opinion that the writings of the Prophets are antagonistic to all ceremonial observances, and that, therefore, the Mosaic ritual cannot have been known to them ; they see also an opposition to the priesthood itself, and intimate that when the Levitical legislation was established after the return from the captivity—according to their novel theory—the prophetic office at once ceased, "there being no room for the Prophet in the society established by Ezra and Nehemiah." To these assertions it is not difficult to reply. A fair and candid perusal of the writings of the Prophets will be conclusive that the opposition of the Prophets was not to the priesthood, but to false and wicked priests ; not to the ceremonial law, but to its abuse in being regarded as in itself acceptable to God, apart from obedience to the moral law. So far as the special work of the Prophets was the opposition to the tendency to idolatry, this work ceased after the return from the captivity, and so far there was no room for its exercise in the post-exilian community. In the great work of moral teaching, the reproof of sin, the stimulation to the discharge of the duties specially necessary at the time, we can discern no restraint of

spirit in the writings of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. That the Prophets before the captivity were ignorant of the Mosaic laws is not the impression left on the mind of an impartial student. It is obvious that, to use a military phrase, *the base line* of all their operations is some body of law acknowledged generally as obligatory, and that this law is the law of Moses. To begin with the oldest, say JOEL; placed by Keil, Bleek and Kuenen between 878—800 B.C., though Kuenen has since adopted the date of Merx, 518—548 B.C. Bishop Colenso follows Oort, a Dutch critic (1866), who places him in the reign of Zedekiah, and infers from chapter iii. 1, compared with Jeremiah xxviii. 1—4, that he was one of the prophets opposed to Jeremiah, consequently a false prophet: yet the author of the splendid prophecy quoted by Peter on the day of Pentecost (Acts xi. 16—21). He refers to the priests, the altar, the elders, the congregation and solemn assembly, and is full of phrases which imply acquaintance with the Pentateuch. AMOS, 790 B.C., refers to the Pentateuch, chaps. ii. 4, 9, 10—12, iii. 1, 2, 14, iv. 4, 5, 11, v. 25, vii. 9, ix. 7; but these are all placed by Bishop Colenso to the credit of the “Old Story,” and *not* to the Pentateuch as we have it. HOSEA, 785—743 B.C., refers to the Pentateuch in chaps. ii. 15, iv. 6, vi. 7, viii. 1, 12, ix. 3, 4, xi. 1, xii. 3, 4. MICAH, 725 B.C., refers in chaps. vi. 4, 5, viii. 17, 20. ISAIAH, who lived 758—711 B.C., refers in the whole of the first thirty-nine chapters to the sacrificial system and the facts of the Israelitish history, as for instance chaps. i. 10—14, ii. 7, iii. 14, v. 24, 26, xxix. 12, xxx. 9, 16, 17. JEREMIAH, 626—587 B.C., enters into the very spirit and phraseology of the Pentateuch, especially the Book of Deuteronomy; in chap. xxxiv. 9—11, he quotes Deuteronomy xv. 12, which would imply that the book was

no recent composition. The passage, chap. vii. 22, 23, has been cited in proof that the sacrificial system was not of Divine origin; whereas he simply teaches the great truth common to all the Prophets, the inutility of all sacrificial and ceremonial observances in themselves, apart from the devout and sincere feelings of the worshipper. This is obvious from chaps. vi. 19, 20, xiv. 12, xvii. 23—26. EZEKIEL, 595—573 B.C., is so thoroughly imbued with the Mosaic spirit that he has been most irrationally thought to be the author of Leviticus xvii. to xxvi., and that through his influence part of the Levites were degraded from the priesthood, which was still retained by their brethren, the sons of Zadok, chap. xlv. 10—14; but this passage refers to the priests of the line of Ithamar, excluded by Solomon, (1 Kings ii. 27), who though degraded are still recognised as “brethren” (2 Kings xxiii. 8, 9). Very singularly *Dr. W. Robertson Smith* sees in chap. xlv. 10—14, “that before the exile the strict hierarchical law was not in force, apparently never had been in force,” though modifying this sweeping assertion by the remark that, “on the opposite view the hierarchic theory existed as a legal programme long before the exile, though it was fully carried out only after Ezra.”¹ It is difficult to see what the learned professor sees in that chapter. The singular vision of the last chapters was never to be understood literally as relating to a temple to be built for Jewish worship; the dimensions and the accompanying arrangements were such as the physical features and limited extent of Judea rendered impossible. It prefigured a worship which would occupy an extent far beyond the narrow limits of Israel. In interpreting this vision, “we do not, therefore, err in taking the holy

True im-
port of
Ezekiel's
vision of
the Tem-
ple, &c.

¹ Ency. Brit., Vol. III. p. 638.

waters to be the emblems of that wondrous scheme of mercy, perfected by the atonement of Christ, made vital by the ever-present Spirit, and adapted to the salvation of the world."¹ To the Christian it is obvious that the vision is intended to depict the perpetual worship of the God of heaven, in the kingdom of Christ, represented under the old familiar symbols of the Mosaic dispensation: these were the lines in which the thoughts of the Prophets moved;² and in Ezekiel, especially, the expressions which refer to the law "were woven into the warp and woof of his discourses."³ So far we may infer that there are as many direct references to the Pentateuch in the Prophets, as from the nature of their writings we might expect. The difficulty is to suppose a reason or foundation for the discourses of the Prophets, had there been no Pentateuch, no book of the law already in existence, and received as an authority by the kings and people of Judah and Israel; hence *Max Duncker*, in "The History of Antiquity," in tracing the origin of the prophetic order from the earliest periods of the Jewish history, admits their acquaintance with the Pentateuch (save and except the middle portion of Deuteronomy), which existed in two forms—the older account (the Judean text) composed in the first decade of the reign of David; and the second text, which arose in the latter half of Solomon's reign, both of which had been combined in one book by the Jahvist whose sympathies were with the Prophets.⁴ So far from thinking that the Prophets were the inventors of Mosaism, he traces the strength and permanency of their convictions to the influence of these writings. "To the oldest account

¹ Dr. W. Morley Punshon's Sermon at the reopening of City-road Chapel, 25th June, 1880.

³ Curtiss's "Levitical Priests," p. 73.

⁴ See Chap. V. sect. 5.

² "Speaker's Com." Vol. VI. p. 183.

Max
Duncker
ascribes
the spirit-
ual power
of the
Prophets
to their
study of
the Pen-
tateuch.

of the fortunes of Israel which arose in priestly circles, and of the covenant which his God had once made with him, to the collection and establishment of the law which formed the contents of this covenant, was soon added the second text, which described in a more lively manner the manifestations of the tribal God, His guidance of the patriarchs and forefathers of the nation, and, like the older text, it was for a long time in the hands of the Prophets. Even before JOEL (at the time when the High Priest Jehoiada was regent for King Joash in Judah) urged the nation to repentance and introspection, the hand of a prophet had united these two texts. Penetrated by their contents, he had, as might be expected from his point of view, laid the main stress on the promises and prophecies, on the relation of man to God, on the nature of man and his duty in life. In this form the books of the fortunes of the patriarchs, of the covenant of Jehovah and Israel, of the promises of protection and blessing in return for the observation of this covenant, must have exercised an especial influence on the circle of the Prophets: they showed them the past in the closest relation to the present; they strengthened their conviction that the external relation was insufficient, that the essential point was the internal relation of man to his God." The historian, though by no means orthodox in his adoption of the *De Wette-Schrader* theory of the origin and antiquity of the Pentateuch, sees clearly that the prophetic teaching necessarily implies the previous possession of the facts and teachings of the Pentateuch.¹

5. The references in the Psalms to the Pentateuch are numerous, but to those in the *first book* (Psalms i. to xli.), generally admitted to have been written by David him-

¹ Max Duncker's "History of Antiquity," Vol. III. pp. 23, 24.

self, we shall confine our appeal, though we might go on to the *second book* (Psalms xlii.—lxxii.), some of which were by David, and others before the reign of Hezekiah. Bishop Colenso admits that in Psalms i. 2, xviii. 22, xix. 7—9, xxxvii. 31, xl. 7, 8, also in xxxiii. 4—6, there is the assumption apparently of “the existence of a written law, though in some of these passages, *e.g.*, xviii. 22, xix. 7—9, the expressions may refer merely to Divine instruction.” The Bishop’s sympathy with the spiritual feeling in the Psalms causes him to dissent from the opinion of Kuenen, that none of David’s Psalms are to be found in their original forms in the present psalter; his remarks on the character of David, his sins and his repentance, are worthy of his position as a Christian bishop. But on the Psalms in question he gives us the opinions of Hupfield, Ewald, Kuenen, Hitzig, and Olshausen.

Psalm i. belongs to the last days of the kingdom of Judah, to the age of the Deuteronomist (*Ewald*), post-exilian (*Kuenen*), Maccabean (*Hitzig* and *Olshausen*).

Psalm xviii., a later psalm (*Hupfield* and *Olshausen*) of the Chaldec period (*Kuenen*), Davidic (*Ewald* and *Hitzig*).

Psalm xix. 7—14 is a later addition, during the exile, to verses 1—6 (*Ewald* and *Hupfield*), post-exilian (*Kuenen*, *Olshausen*), Davidic (*Hitzig*).

Psalm xxxvii., post-exilic (*Ewald*), age of Jeremiah (*Hitzig*), or even later (*Kuenen*).

Psalm xl., the time after Josiah’s reformation (*Ewald*), to Jeremiah (*Hitzig*), to the Assyrian or Chaldæan period (*Kuenen*), Maccabean age (*Olshausen*).

Psalm xxxiii., one of the latest psalms (*Ewald*), of Jeremiah’s age (*Hitzig*), post-exilic (*Kuenen*), Maccabean (*Olshausen*).¹

The above is a fair specimen of the subjective feeling

¹ Pentateuch, Vol. VII. pp. 475—477.

in the Higher Criticism: each critic differs from his neighbour, the only agreement being in opposition to the testimony of the Jewish Church.

To the statements of Kuenen that the religion of the Israelites was originally a low, degraded fetichism, from which it was raised by the labours of successive generations of prophets, and that the Mosaic religion was a compromise between idolatry and the priesthood—that the early history of the Israelites up to 800 B.C. is purely legendary, that the patriarchs are myths, and that the twelve tribes are not descended from Jacob, &c., we cannot again reply, as the iterated assertions are not accompanied by further proofs.

The
Mosaic
Laws
neither
a growth
nor a de-
velopment
but a re-
velation.

6. An argument, founded on what is stated to have been the universal experience of all ages, is put forward as establishing incontestably the fact, founded upon a philosophical view of man's religious nature, which underlies all past history; namely, that in all nations the religious as well as the civil institutions have been the result of a growth, according to the law of development. Such, it is inferred, *must* have been the case in ancient Israel, and hence it follows that the Mosaic laws were not the stereotyped dead letter of a special legislation at a given period, but a living growth. So *Kuenen*, and others whose philosophy always leads them to measure and limit the spiritual by the natural; his notion is, that "the Israelitish religion is one of the principal religions, nothing less, but also nothing more;" and, like other religions, to be treated simply as "one of the many manifestations of the religious spirit of mankind." This dogmatic assertion is a mere assumption of the point at issue. The Israelitish religion, so far from being in accordance with, is in direct opposition to, the "manifestation of the religious spirit of mankind."

It claims to be not of man, but from God—a Divine revelation, not a growth ; and on this account the Israelitish people became a peculiar people, while obedient to their law ; differing in their polity from all other nations, and kept apart to a very great extent from other nations ; the reason of their existence being the conservation of great spiritual truths by them in their religious institutions for the future benefit of the human race. The religious ritual, the tabernacle, the ark, the priesthood, sacrificial institutions, the jubilee, and the national feasts, were pre-arrangements, under Divine guidance, as the fittest and most expressive symbols of the relations between man and his Maker, which were to be more clearly and fully revealed in the Christian dispensation. Hence in Israel there was no room for development or natural growth, as in the case of merely human institutions. Modifications of the mere details of the ceremonial laws by David, Solomon, or Hezekiah, never interfered with the principles of the law itself. Only as a Divine dispensation, an exceptional interference on the part of the Moral Governor of the world, can the peculiarities of the truth and history of the Israelitish people be understood. Those who believe in a revelation from God, and in the cheering fact of a Divine interference and overruling power exercised over human affairs, will find no difficulty in understanding this peculiar position of this peculiar people. To those whose views are otherwise, the case of the Jewish people must continue to present difficulties ; the facts of their history and existence cannot be denied ; the why and the wherefore, apart from revelation, must remain a mystery. Well might the chaplain of Frederick the Great reply to the demand to give in one word the evidence of the truth of the Old Testament,—THE JEWS.

Historical
facts op-
posed to
the proba-
bility of
the late
origin of
the
Mosaic
law.

7. Let us, however, appeal to the facts of history, in reference to this monstrous theory of the late origin of the Levitical ordinances, which instead of being, as generally supposed, a revelation of God to *Moses* in the wilderness, are now relegated to about a thousand years later. Instead of being substantially the work of *Moses*, they are supposed to be forgeries begun by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, and continued by the restored priesthood after the return from the Babylonish captivity, and that these forgeries had been preceded by the forgery of the Book of Deuteronomy by *Jeremiah*. In addition, we must believe that this new ritual, and other covenants ascribed to *Moses*, had at least the sanction of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, the author of the *Books of Chronicles*, and the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, and other parties holding high positions in the Jewish Church. Let it be observed that we have no reference to any such change in any of the said books, nor in any Jewish writer. The only books which were written immediately after the captivity, the *Books of Kings*, say nothing of any such change. Neither can it be inferred from such of the *Psalms* as are placed by critics as written after the captivity. All the details of the reformation carried on by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, so far from implying that the law then enforced was a novelty, imply the contrary. And as to the *Books of Chronicles*, they suppose no break in the continuity of the same law as that which *David* and *Solomon*, and the good kings, supported in Israel and Judah ; neither do *Haggai*, nor *Zechariah*, nor *Malachi*, the Prophets—and as such, the special advocates (as the critics tell us) of a spiritual teaching *beyond the letter of the law*—make any allusion to any change. Within fifty years after the destruction of the first Temple (B.C. 586), the second Temple began

to be rebuilt under Zerubbabel, 536 B.C.; there were then living "*many of the priests and Levites, and chiefs of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice, and many shouted for joy*" (Ezra iii. 12). Surely these ancient men, priests, Levites, and the chiefs of the fathers, knew thoroughly the old temple service, its whole ritual, and the general laws of the old Jewish state; and when *Zerubbabel*, the prince of the family of David, and *Joshua*, the high priest, began to establish again the Temple service, and carry out in detail the Mosaic legislation as to worship, the priesthood, and other matters, they must have recognised in these re-establishments, the order and usages of their earlier years in Jerusalem. The vessels of gold and of silver (Ezra i. 11) restored by Cyrus for the use of the Temple, and the reference to the altar, the burnt sacrifice, money, and ivory, *offered by number, according to the custom, as the duty of every day required*, the feast of tabernacles, and all the set feasts of the law, in chap. iii., are proofs of the continuity of the old law of Moses, well known and in practical use *before* the captivity. So also when the Temple was completed and dedicated seventeen years afterwards, the sacrifices were offered, the priests set in their divisions, and the Levites, in their courses, for the service of God, "*as it is written in the Book of Moses.*" The passover and the feast of unleavened bread were also observed (chap. vi.). It is obvious that these Jews, when in Babylon, had learned to value the law of Moses contained in the Pentateuch, and that all these ritual observances must have been in accordance with that law—the same law known before the captivity—and the disobedience to which had been

the occasion of their bondage. Hence this law, studied in Babylon with greater earnestness, was especially dear to the little company now brought back to the land of their fathers. Is it possible that under such circumstances, any one ruler as Ezra, or any company of priests, could introduce a new ritual, and a new law different from what they had read in the Law at Babylon, and recognised by the older returned captives as that practised by their fathers before the captivity? How could any body of men manage to introduce into the Pentateuch additions which doubled its bulk, and which totally changed the character of the Temple service? And is it possible to suppose that such alterations would be accepted without opposition? Ezra was sent to Jerusalem 457 B.C., and Nehemiah followed 444 B.C. The history of the administration of these zealous reformers, is in itself a sufficient proof of the impossibility of the introduction of any novelties in the laws and ceremonial observances, which had been hitherto received on the authority of the law of Moses. There was much in the law which went counter to the interests and wishes of many of the rulers, of the priests, and of the influential classes among the general population. The astringent carrying out of the law against marriages with the heathen, especially in the case of the priests and rulers; the sacrifices required from the wealthier class in the abandonment of their usurious interest due to them by their poorer brethren; the compelling one in ten of the population to build in Jerusalem; the offence given to influential persons (including the high priests) by the expulsion of their foreign friends and relations from their occupancy of lodgings in the out-chambers of the Temple; the enforcement of the law of the Sabbath—all these reforms, carried out strictly by

Ezra and Nehemiah, naturally excited enmity and opposition; and had there been any ground for the supposition that the laws of Moses appealed to by Ezra and Nehemiah in defence of their reforms were but recent novelties unknown to their fathers, there would have been a contest and successful resistance, and the novelties exposed to ridicule and contempt. But when Manasseh (the son of Joiada, the high priest) had married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, and refused to put away his wife, yet unable to resist the reforming ordinances, fled to Samaria, of which Sanballat was governor (409 B.C.), he took with him the Pentateuch, the book which the Higher Critics think had been so thoroughly changed by Ezra and Nehemiah.¹

8. In concluding this chapter, we cannot do better than give the pertinent and clinching remarks of a writer in the "London Quarterly Review"² on "Colenso's Last Volume." "The theory of the attack is one of the wildest and most improbable kind. It amounts to this, that at a most solemn time of the national history, when they had recovered from the heaviest chastisements ever inflicted upon them, there was a general conspiracy of the leaders of Judaism, prophets, and scribes, and men of God; to palm off upon the people the most gigantic figment ever conceived. . . . The result was that the Mosaic legislation, with its Pentateuch, was invented in the name of God, and woven around a small thread of early legends. . . . But here we have a strange inconsistency in the destructive hypothesis. Long before these dishonest removers of the old landmarks, or forgers of landmarks that never

¹ Prideaux's *Connection*, Vol. I. p. 396.

² No. CV., Oct. 1879, p. 113.

existed, had pursued their secret labours, the way had been paved for them by Jeremiah himself, who is supposed to be mainly responsible for Deuteronomy, and had much to do with the Books of Kings." So, then, it really appears that, just before the hand of the Lord was turned against *His* people, or, at any rate, is supposed to have been turned against them, to send them into captivity—that is to say, on the very eve of their national chastisement—their Bible and ours was in its essential character and historical soul, forged, and preserved during the captivity to be the nucleus of still more forgeries." It is certainly more difficult to believe this, than to accept the plain and consistent "traditional account" of the Canon as preserved by the Churches.

CHAPTER X.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS FROM JOSHUA TO 2 KINGS.

I. The natural supplement to the Pentateuch is the Book of Joshua, which records the occupation and partial conquest of Canaan, and the settlement of the Israelites in that land, by which the promised grant made to their great ancestor Abraham by Jehovah was fulfilled. (Genesis xii. 7, xiii. 15—17, xv. 18—21.) Then follow the Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel I and 2, Kings I and 2, which give the history of the Israelites as a nation in their own land up to the captivity. That some one writer edited the Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, as a connective work, so that one book seems but part of a whole, is the general opinion of the most learned critics. This redaction probably took place soon after the captivity—the last redaction was by Ezra; but it is obvious that each book was originally an independent work, and has its own date. The remaining historical books—Chronicles I and 2, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah—belong to the period of the exile, the return of the remnant of the people from Babylon, and their resettlement in and around Jerusalem. We have in these remaining historical books which follow the Pentateuch, the brief chronicle of the events of more than a thousand years. The names of the authors of the several books are not given, and the date of the authorship can only be inferred from internal

Joshua a
supple-
ment to
the Pen-
tateuch.

evidence, and the testimony of the Jewish Church. Joshua, the Judges, Ruth, and Samuel were probably edited and generally known not later—perhaps earlier—than the period immediately following the division of the kingdom, the remaining books after the captivity. All the books from Joshua to the end of the Chronicles are more or less compilations from contemporary documents, in which the original words of the writer are frequently given, retaining the references and allusions to times and events as they were expressed in these documents. This is one cause of the apparent anachronisms, discrepancies, and dislocations in our present text, which have exercised the patience and learning of our commentators, some of which cannot be satisfactorily reconciled, in the absence of that minute and detailed information which we do not possess, but which in other histories is frequently afforded by the opportunity of comparison with the fuller statements of contemporary narratives. With the exception of the Books of Chronicles, all these historical books appear to have undergone a special revision, in which additional glosses and comments have been introduced by some competent person, probably Ezra (Ezra vii. 6, 10, 11). The object of these books is to give the history of God's relations specially to Israel, and through Israel to the world at large. In the controversy with the literary scepticism of the Higher Criticism these works occupy a position of secondary importance. Here we have the mere skirmishing work of the critics, the real decisive battle-fields being the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and Daniel. The sceptical objections are relatively of less importance, and may be dealt with briefly, especially as they are of the same character as those to which we have already referred. In fact, the admissions of the

The books
from
Joshua to
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most candid of the Higher Critics leave little room for controversy ; they do not deny the antiquity and contemporaneous character of the documents upon which the historical narratives are founded ; and the question of the time when, or the person by whom the compilations were made, or that of the final editor, is of small importance. So far as we can rely upon the only evidence—that given by the Jewish Church—these books have come down to us substantially as they existed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. But while the general results of criticism may be satisfactory, we cannot but regret the wild speculations of many of the critical school as to the origin and authorship of this and that chapter and verse, or even portion of a verse, on grounds purely subjective and in opposition to other evidence. On these points we can prove nothing ; and mere guess work may be spared by the critic, as the reader can, after that fashion, form a theory for himself quite as probable as that of the critics. The irreverence of some of them is painful, and their dogmatism intolerable in the infallibility assumed, for opinions which contradict other opinions claiming to be equally infallible, and in reference to points on which scarcely two of these critics agree.

2. The historical books from Joshua to Chronicles inclusive, whatever may be the opinion of critics as to the period of their final editorship, represent to us the feelings and opinions and evidence of the contemporary chroniclers, from whom the compilers took their facts. The period of the final editorship has, by some critics, been confounded with the time of the original composition of the books ; this accounts for the wildness of some of their conclusions. We have reference to original authorities, especially in the Books of Kings and Chro-

nicles. Most of the earlier of these authorities were accessible to the writer of the Books of Samuel. There are other documents and records which form the basis of the narratives in Joshua and the Judges. Upon these original records we rely as the authorities for the facts contained in the historical books, and can now understand the reason why these books are placed in the Canon of the Old Testament, as containing the testimonies of the ancient prophets to God's dealings with His people; an unbroken link under the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations, ending only with Malachi, 400 B.C. There was also a large literature of a miscellaneous character among the Israelites for many ages before the captivity. So also in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and among other less important Eastern people, a fact not known to our ancestors. The books quoted as authorities in the historical books are the following:—(1) The Book of the Wars of the Lord (Numbers xxi. 13); (2) Book of Jashur (Joshua x. 12; 2 Samuel i. 18); (3) The Manner of the Kingdom, by Samuel (1 Samuel x. 25); (4) The Acts of David in the Book of Samuel the Seer, Book of Nathan the Prophet, Book of Gad the Seer—three works supposed to be absorbed in the Book of Samuel (1 Chronicles xxix. 29); (5) Acts of Solomon in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the Visions of Iddo the Seer (2 Chronicles ix. 29); (6) Book of the Acts of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 41); (7) Acts of Rehoboam, in the Book of Shemaiah the Prophet, and of Iddo the Seer, concerning genealogies (2 Chronicles xi. 15); (8) Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah (1 Kings xv. 7); (9) Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel (1 Kings xiv. 19); (10) Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah (2 Chronicles xxviii. 26);

Autho-
rities
quoted in
the
historical
books.

(11) Acts of Jehoshaphat, in the Book of Jehu, the son of Hanani (2 Chronicles xx. 34); (12) Acts of Uzziah, by Isaiah the Prophet, the son of Amos (2 Chronicles xxvi. 22); (13) Acts of Hezekiah, in the Vision of Isaiah the Prophet, the Son of Amos, probably embodied in the Book of Isaiah (2 Chronicles xxxiii. 12); (14) Acts of Manasseh, and his prayer, in the Book of the Kings of Israel (2 Chronicles xxxiii. 18); (15) Lamentations of Jeremiah over Josiah (2 Chronicles xxxv. 25); (16) Sayings of the Seers (2 Chronicles xxxiii. 19). There are also two books mentioned in Exodus—one a memorial which Moses was to write for Joshua (Exodus xvii. 14), and the other the Book of the Covenant (Exodus xxiv. 7), both of which are supposed to be incorporated in the Pentateuch. The character of these books may be gathered from their titles, with the exception of the Book of Jashur, which appears to have been a collection of national songs, the patriotic poetry of the Israelites.

Chronological disquisitions are foreign to the object of this work; but it may be desirable to remark that the learned in these matters are apparently adopting the long calculation of the Septuagint, in preference to the Hebrew, as to the epoch of the creation and the deluge; but that the period of 430 years of the residence of the Israelites in Egypt, as given in Exodus xii. 40, is now generally regarded as beginning with Jacob's settlement in Egypt: the addition of the words, "and in the land of Canaan," which appears in the Septuagint, is not received as being part of the original text, but as contradictory to facts, such as the genealogy of Joshua, 1 Chronicles vii. 23—27, which makes him the twelfth in succession from Ephraim. Jochebed, the mother of Moses, is not to be considered as literally a daughter of

Chrono-
logy of
the Bible.

Levi, but simply that she was of that tribe. Hales as well as Ussher (in the chronology in the English Bibles) follow the old system, and limit the residence in Egypt to 215 years, commencing with the entrance of Jacob and his family; and this is defended in an able article in the "London Quarterly," No. 106. With respect to the chronology of the later period of the Jewish history, from the monarchy to the captivity, there is much valuable matter in Lange's Volume on Kings, with a table by the Rev. W. G. Sumner, of Morris Town.¹ Also in the chronological tables by F. R. Conder in the "Bible Educator,"² and reprinted in the work entitled "Handbook of the Bible."³ The additional light which is being thrown upon the dates of the reign of the kings of Israel and Judah by the discoveries in Assyrian archæology, will solve most of the disputed points within another generation.

Book of
Joshua.

3. THE BOOK OF JOSHUA is a continuation of the Pentateuch, though a distinct work; formerly it was united with the Pentateuch, which it connects with the succeeding books. Chapters i. to xii. narrate the history of the conquest of a large portion of the land of Canaan; then follow a series of chapters, which may be called "the Domesday Book" of Israel, specifying the partition of the land among the tribes. The last ten chapters are supplementary, and give an account of the death of Joshua. Opinions as to the authorship and date of the book differ greatly. (a) The *Jewish Talmud*, the *Christian Fathers*, *Gerlach*, *Gerhard*, *Diodati*, *Huet*, *Bishop Patrick*, *Dr. Adam Clarke*, *Kœnig*, *Baumgarten*, *Havernick*, think that Joshua himself was the author of the main portion of the

Author-
ship and
date.

¹ Lange's "Book of Kings," imp. 8vo, 2nd Part, pp. 11, 161, &c., to 309.

³ "Handbook to the Bible," by F. R. and C. R. Conder. Cr. 8vo, 1880.

² "Bible Educator," Vol. III. pp. 361—365.

work, and that the concluding chapters were written by Eleazer and Phineas. (b) *Keil* ascribes it to the elders after Joshua, *Matthew Henry* to Jeremiah, *Moldenhauer* and *Van Tell* to Samuel. (c) *Masius*, *Spinoza*, *Le Clerc*, *Hasse*, *Mauer*, *De Wette*, and most critics of the advanced school, think the period of the exile the most probable. (d) *Stähelin*, *De Wette*, *Lengerke*, *Bleek*, *Knobel*, *Noldeke*, with *Ewald*, have applied the Elohist and Jehovistic theories with the Documentary, Fragmentary, and Supplementary Hypotheses, with, of course, very discordant results. The unity of the book has been defended by *Stähelin*, *Steudel*, *Havernick*, *Keil*, and others. (e) *Bleek's* theory is, that in the days of Saul, the Elohist compiled from traditions, written laws, histories, songs, census rolls, &c., a narrative up to the death of Joshua, with a brief account of events up to the time of Saul. This older work was enlarged and rewritten in the time of David by the Jehovist; the last revision was made by the Deuteronomist in the reign of Josiah. (f) *Knobel* thinks that there was an Elohist foundation document, obviously written by a priest, from the special reference to the ark, the tabernacle, and the ordinances of public worship: this writer lived in the days of Saul, in the southern part of the land; his work received additions from two other works called *the Law* book and *the War* book, which had been used by the Jehovist, who wrote in the kingdom of Israel in the days of Hezekiah; after this the Deuteronomist completed the book in the days of Josiah. (g) *Noldeke* thinks that there was a plain systematic ground text, written about the ninth or tenth century B.C.; then another which had two sources, one a writing by the Second Elohist, another by the Jehovist, who had absorbed into his narrative the writing of the Second

Elohist, so that it could not be separated from his own : this view is opposed by Hupfield ; after this, a Redactor about 800 B.C. ; lastly, the Deuteronomist.

Bishop
Colenso's
view.

4. *Bishop Colenso's* theory differs from all the preceding. His view is that the Jehovist in the time of Solomon laid the foundation of the work by writing two hundred and twelve and a half verses ; then the Deuteronomist added, or rather inserted or interpolated, three hundred and six and a half verses ; and last of all, the Levitical legislation interpolated one hundred and thirty-nine verses. The great use of the laborious ingenuity of all the critical hypotheses, and the fruitless results of these inquiries, is to convince the sober student of the wisdom of resting content with the "traditional view" of the Churches, that the book was compiled from records contemporary with the age of Joshua, but by whom is not known. We may guess that Samuel was the editor. *Dr. Davidson* assigns to the Elohist certain chapters which *Bishop Colenso* appropriates variously : for instance, chapters iv. 15—17, 19, to the Deuteronomist and Levitical legislation ; chapter v. to Levitical legislation ; chapter xiii. 15—33, to the Deuteronomist and Levitical legislation ; chapter xiv. 1—5, to Levitical legislation ; chapter xv. 1—13, 20—44, 48, 62, to the Jehovist, Deuteronomist, and Levitical legislation ; chapters xvi. 1—9, xvii. 1—10, xviii. 1, 2, 11 and 28, to the Jehovist ; chapters xix., xx., to the Jehovist, Deuteronomist, and Levitical legislation ; chapters xxi. 1—40, xxii. 9—11, 13—15, 21, 30—33, to Levitical legislation :¹ all these chapters are, according to *Dr. Davidson*, by the Elohist. So different are the conclusions of two of the most learned of our critics, not from the absence of learning or research, but from the fact that there is no material

¹ "Pentateuch, &c., Examined," Vol. II., Appendix.

in the book itself for such a minute dissection and appropriation of its several portions.

5. *Bishop Colenso's* strong prepossession against the authenticity, &c., of the Pentateuch may be illustrated by a reference to a passage in his large work.¹ Mr. Plumptre says in the "Dictionary of the Bible," "Whatever question may be raised as to the antiquity of the whole Pentateuch in its present form, the existence of a book bearing this title (Book of the Law) is traceable to an early period in the history of the Israelites (Joshua, chap. i. 8, viii. 34, xxiv. 26).² Answer: Unfortunately, the above are all Deuteronomist or later passages, only carrying up the title in question to Jeremiah's days, shortly before the captivity." We can by this understand the use of the notion of the Deuteronomist and Levitical interpolations in Dr. Colenso's theory, for they cut off all the evidence from the older books against *Graf's*, and his theory of the post-exilian origin of the Mosaic institution. These Deuteronomist passages, and those of the Levitical legislators, were, according to *Dr. Colenso*, inserted in the Book of Joshua, in the one case about 627 B.C., in the other in the fifth century B.C. According to this arrangement of supposed authorship of this Book of Joshua, the name of Moses, which occurs twenty-four times, is, in these passages in which it occurs, referred to the Deuteronomist or Levitical legislation: this removal of the name of the great law-giver is obviously to help *Dr. Colenso's* favourite notion that "the Pentateuch, as we now have it, cannot have been familiarly known to the people; that the 'Law of Moses' was not a household book among them; and that not even Moses himself, much less Aaron and Joshua, occupied

¹ "Pentateuch Examined," Vol. VI. p. 360.

² Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," Vol. I. p. 210.

a very prominent place before the time of the Deuteronomist."¹ In *our* Book of Joshua the name of Moses is mentioned *fifty-six* times!

Bishop
Colenso's
theory of
interpo-
lations in
Joshua.

The Deuteronomist. Chaps. i. 3—18, ii. 10, 11, 24, iii. 2—5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15^b, 16^b, 17, iv. 1—11, 14—18, 20—24, v. 1—8, 13—15, vi. 2—5, 17, 18, 20^b, 21, 24^a, 25, 27, vii. 2—17, 18^p, 19—24, 25^{ac}, 26, viii. 1^p, 2^{ab}, 3^b—9, 14^p, 18^a, 22—35, ix. 1, 2, 6^b, 7, 9^b, 10, 24, 25, 27^b, x. 1—5, 7^b, 8, 11—27^a, 28—43, xi. 2, 3, 6, 8^{bc}, 9—23, xii. 1—24, xiii. 1—7 (8 LXX.), 8—21^a, 23, 24—27, 29—31, 33, xv. 45—47, 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 11—18, xviii. 3^b, 6, 7, 8^b, 10, xix. 9, 47, xxi. 43—44, xxii. 1—7, xxiii. 1—16, xxiv. 1—25, 31, except interpolation by LL. as below.

The Levitical Legislation. Chaps. iv. 12, 13, 19, v. 10—12, vi. 19, 24^b, vii. 1, 18^p, 25^b, ix. 14, 15^b, 17—21, x. 27^b, xiii. 14^b (LXX.), 21^b, 22, 23^b, 28, 32, xiv. 1—15, xv. 12^b, 20, xvi. 8^b, xvii. 3—6, xviii. 20^b, 28^b, xix. 8^b, 16, 23, 31, 39, 48—51, xx. 1—9, xxi. 1—42, xxii. 8—34, xxiv. 26, 27, 33, with *matteh* (Hebrew for *tribe*) in xiii. 15, xv. 1, 20, 21, xvi. 8^b, xviii. 11, xix. 1, 8^b, 23, 24, 31, 40, and "to the *matteh* of Gad," xiii. 24, "and it belonged to the half *matteh* of the children of Manasseh," xiii. 29, "for the *matteh* of Manasseh, for he was the first-born of Joseph," xvii. 1, "and the half *matteh* of Manasseh," xxii. 1.

N.B.—The LL. has inserted Joshua xv. 13 and 19 (with some modification of its own) from Judges i. 10—15, with reference to its own previous insertions, Joshua xiv. 6—15.

In Joshua xx. 3—6 interpolations have been made in a very late age, which are not found in the LXX.

Book of
Judges.

6. THE BOOK OF JUDGES (i.e., *Shophetim* in Hebrew, a word similar to the term used to designate the

¹ "Pentateuch," Vol. VII. p. 71. See also Appendix, Synoptical Tables of the Hexateuch.

Phœnician and Carthaginian dictators, who were styled *Sufetes*). The Hebrew Judges were leaders raised up by Divine impulse to deliver the Israelites in times of peculiar danger. In this respect as patriots, and not with special reference to their religious character, they are held up to our admiration in the Old and New Testament. The book is unmethodical, abounding in dislocations; the chronology confused, in which respect it resembles the Egyptian and other ancient chronologies. The first seventeen chapters were apparently written before Jerusalem had been taken by David (compare Judges, chap. i. 8, 21 with 2 Samuel, chap. v. 6, 7). The last five chapters form an appendix, the date of which was probably in the time of the early kings. There is one passage in chap. xviii. 30 which appears to refer to the Assyrian captivity: the phrase is used in connection with the graven image which the sons of Gershon had set up in the tribe of Dan, and which continued "*until the day of the captivity of the land.*" Some think that the proper reading should be "*the captivity of the ark,*" the word *הארון* for ark, having by some copyists been mistaken for *הארץ*, land. In this case the reference would be to the captivity of the ark by the Philistines, recorded in 1 Samuel iv. 11—22, at which time Shiloh is supposed to have been destroyed, and the whole land involved in great calamities through the Philistines and other tribes, to whom there is a reference in Psalm lxxviii. 60, 61. This great calamity was not forgotten by the people of Israel and Judah, and is referred to by Jeremiah as a striking proof of God's indignation with a place in which He had once set His name, but which He had abandoned to destruction "for the wickedness" of His people Israel (Jeremiah, chap. vii. 12). In the original construction of the book, it is probable "that

Date and
author-
ship.

the main narrative existed in a distinct form before it was incorporated, together with the preface (chap. i. to iii. 3), in the series of historical books.”¹ The critics generally place the book at the period of the captivity, the period of all others the least likely: (1) *De Wette* and *Keil* regard the song of Deborah as a production of the period to which it is assigned in the book; but (2) *Bishop Colenso* ascribes it to “the golden age of Hebrew literature,” the reign of David.

Bishop
Colenso's
theory of
interpo-
lations.

7. *Bishop Colenso* thinks that the book was written by some one of the school of the Prophets established by Samuel, but that it had received large additions in its re-editing by the Deuteronomist and Levitical legislators. The respective portions ascribed to these supposed writers, are those which refer to the past history of Israel, which are not included in *Dr. Colenso's* “Old Story.” For instance, the passages chaps. i. 16, iv. 11, xi. 16—28, which plainly allude to portions of Numbers and Deuteronomy, are supposed to refer to the “Old Story.” So also the passages chaps. xviii. 30, xx. 18, 27, 28, xxi. 5—14, are assigned to the Levitical legislators, because of the mention of “*Phineas the son of Eleazer, the son of Aaron*,” whose name occurs in Numbers xxvi. 6—18, which, according to *Dr. Colenso*, belongs to the Levitical legislation. To the Deuteronomist are assigned passages chaps. ii. 10—23, iii. 7, iv. 1, vi. 1—7, 10, viii. 22, 23, 33—35, x. 10—16, xiii. 1, all of which refer, more or less, to Moses and the deliverance from Egypt, events which, in the opinion of the Bishop, were not generally known to the Israelitish people, until the Book of Deuteronomy had been put forth by the Prophet Jeremiah. By this means he attempts to cut off all appeal to these references in the Book of Judges

¹ “Speaker's Commentary,” Vol. II. p. 116.

which tell against his theory, Moses being mentioned four times.

8. THE BOOK OF RUTH is generally assigned to the age of David. The genealogy at the end of chap. iv. appears to be a very natural appendage to the narrative, but Bishop Colenso ascribes it to the Levitical legislators.

Book of
Ruth.

9. THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL (1 and 2) connect the period of the Judges with that of the monarchy. They are composed from documents contemporary, or nearly so, with the events which they relate ; but when first collected in the form in which we now possess them, it is difficult to say. Well may the author of the article Samuel (Book of), in Smith's " Dictionary," remark : " More questions can be asked than can be answered, and the results of a dispassionate inquiry are mainly negative."¹ The style of these books is considered by Hebraists as perfect, free from foreign admixture and pronunciation ; but being a compilation from various contemporary writers by one who lived probably several generations later, there are discrepancies, obscurities, and apparent contradictions which critics have laboured to explain and reconcile with varied success. It is well for us to keep in mind the judicious remarks of *Dr. S. Davidson*, that " discrepancies are only another word for our ignorance." Except to those who delight in antiquarian researches into minute matters of Hebrew history, it is not important to settle these doubtful questions. We receive the book with other historical books on the faith of the Jewish Canon, confirmed by our Lord and His Apostles. We give the opinions of the learned :—(a) The *Talmudists* and the *Fathers*, as well as the old divines, regarded *Samuel* as the author of the first twenty-four chapters,

Books of
Samuel.

Date and
author-
ship.

¹ " Biblical Dictionary," Smith's, Vol. III. p. 1125.

and *Nathan* of the rest. (b) *Abarbanel*, and sundry of the Jewish doctors, with *Grotius*, fix upon *Jeremiah*. (c) *Fahn*, *Herbst*, *Vaihinger*, *Palfrey*, that *Samuel* and the *Kings* were written after the captivity. *Stähelin* thought with *Fahn*, but ascribed chaps. i. and ii. to *Samuel*. (d) *Eichhorn*, *Bertholet*, *Thenius*, supposed different series of documents, two of *Saul* and *David*, as the foundations of the work. (e) *Gramberg* supposed two narratives, partly differing, welded into one. (f) *Graf* supposes a foundation work, to which sundry hierarchical additions were made. (g) *Ewald* supposes a grand, comprehensive *Book of Kings*, of which the *Books of Samuel* and *Kings* are portions. (h) *Bleek* thinks that there were certain written manuals, besides the poems used by the compiler, but does not think it possible to identify them. (i) *Dr. S. Davidson* ascribes the work to the time of *Asa*. (k) *De Wette*, *Havernick*, and *Keil*, fix the date as that of the generation after the division of the kingdom.

Bishop
Colenso's
theory of
interpo-
lations.

10. *Bishop Colenso* thinks that the author is one of "the school of the Prophets," an opinion which is highly probable. He regards the following passages as interpolations by the Deuteronomist: 1 Sam. chap. vii. 3—14, ix. 9, x. 8, 18, 19, 25, xii., xiii. 8—15,^a xiv. 2 Sam. chap. ii. 10, 11, iii. 18, v. 4, 5, 11, 12, vii. It will be seen that the reference to *Moses*, *Aaron*, and *Jacob*, which occurs in chap. xii. 6—8, are ascribed to the date of the supposed Deuteronomist in the reign of *Josiah*, in support of the theory referred to in paragraph (5) of this chapter. The fact that there is no reference to the law of *Moses* expressly by name in the *Books of Samuel*, is no proof of the non-acquaintance with the laws themselves, although there was no doubt much irregularity in their observance, and occasionally

a total neglect of them. The books abound in allusions to the Pentateuch. Even *De Wette* and others are obliged to admit this, and they ascribe them to the final editors. In *Keil* and *Havernick* these allusions are brought out and illustrated. Various apparent contradictory statements are investigated by Keil, and satisfactorily explained, but there are dislocations in the narrative which cannot be accounted for, and which must remain.¹ The title MESSIAH, *i.e.*, anointed, is used in 1 Sam. ii. 10 for the first time, and in seventeen other places in these books, with the meaning ascribed to it in Luke ii. 26.

II. THE BOOKS OF KINGS (1 and 2) were probably written in the interval between the captivity and the return from Babylon. Like the preceding historical books, Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, they are for the most part compilations from the records of the kingdom, and from that numerous body of historical and memoir writers, a list of whom is found in the second paragraph of this chapter. The prevailing opinion is that the two books were written by Jeremiah, or so revised by him as to be recognised as his, and that there was in these books, as in the historical books generally, a revision by Ezra. It would require a large volume to discuss the real or supposed contradictions and discrepancies in the narrative, arising mainly out of the diversity of the materials from which the books were compiled. These points have been fully considered, according to our present light, in the valuable "Dictionary" of Smith and Kitto, and in "Lange's Commentary," in the "Speaker's Commentary," and in Ayre's volume of "Horne's Introduction;" also by Davidson, Keil, and others. The truth of the narrative is not affected by

Books of
Kings.

Date and
author-
ship.

¹ Keil's "Introduction to the Old Testament," Vol. I. pp. 235—244.

these variations. The text is very imperfect, and varies much from the text which the Septuagint translators possessed. The chronology is imperfect; "no authoritative, correct, systematic chronology was originally contained in the Books of Kings; and the attempt to supply such afterwards led to the introduction of many erroneous dates, and probably to the corruption of some true ones which were originally there."¹ Already considerable light has been thrown upon chronological difficulties through the opening up of the records of Assyria and Babylon, and further discoveries may make all clear to the next generation: for their "religious teaching and the insight they give us into God's providential and moral government of the world are above all valuable."

Bishop
Colenso's
theory of
interpo-
lations.

12. *Dr. Colenso's* theory is; that chapters i. to xi. of 1 Kings are the production of the Old Jehovistic writer of Judges and Samuel—say Nathan or Gad; and that the remainder is mainly the work of Jeremiah (as Deuteronomist). Canon Rawlinson thinks they were a compilation by Jeremiah, as was the rest of the book.² One reason confirmatory of Jeremiah's authorship is, that being himself so important a personage during the reigns of the four kings preceding the captivity, his name is not once mentioned in these books.³ (a) The following are considered by Bishop Colenso to be Deuteronomist interpolations in chaps. i. to xi. of 1 Kings: chaps. i. 48, ii. 3, 4, 10—12, 24, 26, 32, 33, 44—46, iii. 2, 3, 5—15, iv. 13,^b 21—23, v. 1—14, viii. 8, 9, 12—61, 66, ix. 1—24, 26—28, x. 1—29, xi. 1—13, 27,^b 29—39, 41—43. (b) The following are the supposed insertions by the

¹ Smith's "Dictionary," Vol. II. pp. 25, 38.

² "Bible Educator," Vol. III. 3.

³ Sumner in "Lange's Com. of Kings," Part II. p. 287.

Levitical legislators after the captivity, in the first eleven chapters of 1 Kings: chaps. iii. 16^a—28, iv. 24—28, 29—34, v. 15—18, vi. 1, 11—14 (*reference to holy places*), 16, vii. (*reference to most holy places*), 50, viii. 1,^b 4, 5, 10, 11, 63, 64, and clauses in 2, 6, 65. (c) The remainder of the two Books of Kings are accredited to Jeremiah, save and except some Levitical additions, and sundry chapters which are supposed to be “legendary.” The Levitical additions are supposed to be 1 Kings, chaps. xii. 21—24, 32, 33; xiii. is either a Levitical addition or by another writer; xx. is a Levitical legislation, to which belongs verse 1 of chap. xxii.; 2 Kings, chaps. xii. 4—16, xvi. 13—16. (d) The following are considered as “legendary:” 1 Kings, chaps. xvii. to xix., taken from an old narrative or tradition, and retouched by the Deuteronomist; these relate to the history of Elijah. So also 2 Kings, chaps. i. 5—16, ii., iii. 4—27, iv. to vii., viii. 1—15, are supposed to be from “legendary” traditions about Elijah and Elisha. Some chapters are taken from Isaiah, as 2 Kings xviii. 13, 17—37, xix., xx. 15—19, which are the same as Isaiah xxxvi. to xxxix.; but 2 Kings, chaps. xxiv. 18 to xxv. are taken from Jeremiah lii.

Elijah
and
Elisha.

13. Some criticisms are evidently the result of an endeavour to confirm *Bishop Colenso's* theories of the late additions to the Pentateuch. (a) In 2 Kings, chap. xviii. 4, the removal and destruction of “the brazen serpent that Moses had made” is recorded, with the remark of Bishop Colenso that this verse is by the Deuteronomist, and is a reference to Numbers, chap. xxi. 6, 9, which is a Deuteronomist interpolation, and cannot therefore be quoted as a proof that the Pentateuch was known in Israel at that time as we generally suppose.¹ (b) In 1 Kings, chaps. vi. 16, vii. 50, viii. 6, the

¹ “Pentateuch,” Part VI. p. 540.

Criticisms
of Bishop
Colenso
made to
support
his
theory.

phrase *most holy place* (literally *holy of holies*) is found. This phrase, the Bishop remarks, is added by a later hand, by the Levitical legislators, as it is "used nowhere else in the Book of Kings, nor in any one of the Psalms or Prophets, except Ezekiel in his scheme of the second Temple after the captivity, and Daniel ix. 24. It is used, however, by the Levitical legislators repeatedly in the Pentateuch, Exodus xxvi. 33, 34, &c. . . . Leviticus ii. 3, 10, &c. . . . Numbers iv. 4, 19, &c. . . and nowhere else except in post-captivity writings."¹ Here the Bishop assumes that in the narrative of the building of the Temple by the old Jehovist narrator, the Levitical legislators have interpolated the passage in question, and he proves this to his own satisfaction by assuming that this phrase, as it is used in the Pentateuch, is found in passages which he assumes to be later additions by the Levitical legislators: this cool assumption imposes on the careless reader. It is one assumption supported by another, without the pretence of evidence.

The
Temple.

(c) In the account of the building of the Temple, 1 Kings, chaps. vi., vii., the Bishop remarks,² "in comparing the Temple of Solomon and the tabernacle as described in Exodus xxv., &c., it is found that all the arrangements are identical, and the dimensions of every part of the former exactly double those of the latter. From this, coupled with the fact that not a hint is given, even by the chronicler, as to the Temple being copied from the Divine model set in the tabernacle, it is plain that the idea of the latter structure was suggested by the former; in other words, that the account of the construction of the tabernacle in Exodus xxv., &c., is of later date than the age of Solomon, and belongs, in fact, to the

¹ "Pentateuch," Part VII. pp.

² "Pentateuch," Part VI. p. 51, VII. p. 158.

Levitical legislation.”¹ Nothing but an overwhelming prepossession, amounting almost to a judicial blindness, can account for such an illogical deduction. Common sense would infer that the true state of the case was that the tabernacle was the model upon which the Temple was designed and built. The Bishop’s conclusion is as absurd as the objection quoted from *Graf*,² that in the narrative in 1 Kings, chap. vi, vii, “we have no account of the costly vessels of the tabernacle, since entirely new ones were made for the Temple.” Such trivialities are not generally recorded in grave histories. If the critic must think about such minor matters, his imagination might lead him to suppose that the gold and silver in the old vessels would be recast for material for the new ones; but whether or not is of no importance.

(d) The Passover (Paschah) observed by Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 21—23, was, according to *Bishop Colenso*, “the first and perhaps the only time before the captivity kept by all the people.”³ He supposes that the Israelitish passover did not originate as recorded in Exodus, chap. xii. (which is by him supposed to be an interpolation of the Levitical legislation), but was received by the Israelites from their hated enemies the Canaanites, and was, in fact, identical with the feast in which unleavened cakes had been eaten and bloody sacrifices of men and beasts had been offered by the Canaanitish tribes to the sun-god—the Baal, or Lord of the Land. That the Hebrews were only too ready to adopt their customs we know from Judges ii. 11—13, iii. 5—7, viii. 33, x. 6; 1 Samuel vii. 3, &c., &c.; and that human sacrifices were offered in idolatrous times is witnessed by the testimony

Bishop
Colenso’s
theory of
the origin
of the
Passover.

¹ “Pentateuch,” &c., Part VII.
p. 158.

² *Ibid.* Part VI. p. 51.

³ See “Pentateuch,” Vol. V. pp. 285—304; Vol. VI. pp. 411—433; Vol. VII. p. 221.

Bishop
Colenso's
notion
that
human
sacrifices
were not
forbidden
by the
original
Law.

of the historical books ; for instance, 2 Kings xvi. 3, xxiii. 4—10, xxi. 6, and by the prophets, Micah vi. 7 ; Isaiah lvii. 4, 5 ; Jeremiah vii. 31, xix. 5, xxxii. 35 ; Ezekiel xvi. 20, 21, and confirmed by Psalm cvi. 37, 38. To the facts of Israelitish compliance with the abominations of the heathen, we must agree with the Bishop ; but that the Israelitish passover was an imitation of a Canaanitish festival, and not a commemoration of the great deliverance, and of the preservation of the Israelitish first-born in the night when the first-born of Egypt perished, it is impossible for any one to admit who receives the Pentateuch as it is, and not as modified by the supposed Deuteronomist and the Levitical legislators. The whole tone of the Pentateuch and of all the historical books is directly opposed to *Dr. Colenso's* notion that the law of the first-born (Exodus xiii. 1, 2, xxii. 29, 30) placed the first-born of man and of cattle in exactly the same position in *all* respects, and that there was no redemption mentioned in these passages, which he considers as Jehovistic and belonging to the Old Story. When we quote Exodus xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20, "*All the first-born of man among thy children shalt thou redeem,*" we are told that these are interpolations of the Deuteronomist seven centuries afterwards, the result of the humanising influences of prophetic teaching ; but that in the interval, there had been no express forbidding of human sacrifice in the law, though the practice was discouraged by the more enlightened Israelites. This dark view of the religious teaching and moral feeling of the ante-Deuteronomist age (the age of Josiah), unsupported by historical testimony, is intended to support the novel theory of the gradual reformation of the original harsh law of Moses, through the influence of the prophetic teaching, and especially of the new law (Deu-

teronomy) introduced by Jeremiah. We do not believe in the composition of the new law (Deuteronomy) in the days of Josiah, and we do believe that the prophetic teaching had for its foundation the laws of Moses as existing in *the Thorah*; so that we cannot receive the strange theory.

14. *Bishop Colenso's* remarks on the histories of the prophets ELIJAH and ELISHA, as related in the two Books of Kings, in the chapters considered by him to be purely legendary, or copied from an older writing; in which he agrees with Baron Bunsen in his Bible work. With him Elijah "is an ideal character, the representative prophet, the type of what all prophets should be, . . . or there may have been a living prophet named Elijah, whose memory was retained in the kingdom of Israel, . . . and became transfigured in their legendary lore, with a traditional glory, like that of King Arthur in our own English history."¹ The reader may judge of the difference between the plain, striking history of Elijah and Elisha, as related in the Books of Kings, and the cloudy, contradictory glimpses of the mythical personality of King Arthur, for which we have no authority except in bardic songs. *Ewald*, the great German critic and historian of Israel, by no means "superstitiously addicted to orthodoxy," though "regarding the miraculous portion of the history as unhistorical," as might be expected from his known character, has by far a more just appreciation of the position of these great prophets.² "In dealing with the labours of Elijah, as well as with those of his successor Elisha, the stream of extant records of those centuries, at other times narrowly hemmed in, suddenly spreads out, and

Bishop
Colenso
on the
Prophets
Elijah
and
Elisha.

Ewald on
Elijah and
Elisha.

¹ "Pentateuch," VII. pp. 173,
174.

² "History of Israel," Vol. IV.
p. 63.

the most marvellous forms rise before our eyes, as though from some mysterious abyss. And our wonder at the appearance of Elijah, in particular, increases in proportion to the abruptness which, in the extant historical work, marks the opening of the whole narrative of the career of this hero ; so that his first entry within the province of the history seems almost as unique and inexplicable as his final disappearance. It is really impossible to have any doubt of the extraordinary nature of the prophetic career of Elijah. It is exhibited sufficiently forcibly in the whole course of the history ; for it was he, and he alone, with no other instrument than the simple form of his spirit and his speech, who achieved no less a marvel than a complete revolution of the existing condition of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Had he not produced the most extraordinary effect, and had not his contemporaries at the same time experienced and acknowledged in him the activity of a marvellous power, none of the extant stories about him would have arisen, and the recollections of his career would not have preserved the entirely peculiar colouring in which they are now immortalised. Moreover, however grand much that is related of him may be, no narrative can supply anything but a feeble picture of the original grandeur, and the all-conquering power of the greatest prophetic hero of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes ; if only because it can place nothing before us but single acts, and only few of these, from which we have to reason backwards to gain any general idea of his real aim. His successor Elisha was, it is equally certain, a prophet of great influence ; but in all recollections he appears to occupy a lower position than his master, although even more particulars have been preserved of his career than of Elijah's." Justice has been done to

this portion of Jewish history in three able articles on these Prophets, in the "Bible Educator," by the Rev. Henry Allon, D.D.,¹ from which we quote the following striking remarks: "The distinctive inspiration of Elijah was religious conviction and sentiment, and not mere patriotism. Against all the organised powers and social forces of his age he stands in the simple might of his religious convictions. Through all history no inspiration has been so mighty. The impelling and sustaining force of patriotism, of natural affection even, gives place to that of religion. The sense of Divine supremacy, the depth and sanctity of religious feeling, and the strength of religious convictions, together with the consciousness of a Divine commission, and the involuntary reverence inspired by it, have over and over again made weak and solitary men revolutionary powers in society. . . . Among them Elijah, although not the first, is perhaps the supreme instance. No man ever fought the battle of God against greater odds or under more arduous conditions, or achieved a more signal and momentous victory. No inspiration that the human experience knows is so noble and strong and irresistible as religious inspiration, and the purer the religious faith, the greater is its power."²

¹ "Bible Educator," Vol. III. pp. 74, 93, 154.

² *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 77.

CHAPTER XI.

THE POST-EXILIAN BOOKS.

Peculiar
character
of these
books.

1. These are the Books of the CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, and the Book of Esther, which are the only historical books fairly belonging to the period of the exile, and to the generation after the return from Babylon. It is true that the first and second Books of Kings were written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the carrying away of the king and people; but the author appears to have written at an early period of the captivity, and to have been altogether unaffected by the opinion and feelings of the generation which grew up under the intellectual and moral discipline of the captivity under Babylonian and Persian rule. He writes as a Jew of the old kingdom, whose sympathies are with the captive king Jehoiachin, and with the past history of the monarchy (2 Kings xxv. 27—30). The chronicler, with the writers of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, while not insensible to the past glories of the kingly race, are wholly devoted to one object—the restoration and establishment of the religious polity and institution set forth in the law of Moses. The leading master spirits of the generations immediately succeeding the return from captivity had awoke to a deep conviction of the true source of the strength and stability of the newly-restored community. Empire and extent of territory were out of the question; but that Israel stood in a

peculiar relation to Jehovah, and occupied a place in His plan and purpose of human regeneration, was dimly seen by them. All their past history testified to a purpose, which their disobedience as a people had frustrated. They had been punished and yet preserved; their ruthless conquerors had in their captivity befriended them. The great hero of the past age, the founder of the empire under which they lived, had pleaded the command of Jehovah as the cause of their release; the hopes of restoration held out by the prophets had been realised, and these same prophecies pointed to a future yet more glorious than all they could conceive of the past. The visions of Daniel had extended the sphere of the spiritual vision of the thoughtful and meditative of the men of the restoration, and Haggai and Zechariah, in the spirit of the ancient prophets, had held out the picture of a glory to be realised in the Temple then building, which should exceed the glory of the former house, accompanied by the significant words which gave an additional interest to the Temple and to Jerusalem: "*And in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts*" (Haggai ii. 9).

2. No one can read the history of the return and the condition of the small party which were placed in and near Jerusalem without being convinced that nothing less than the religious convictions of the immigrants could have sustained them in their trying position. Through the influence of the high character and honourable conduct of Jeremiah and of Daniel, the Babylonian monarchs had favoured the exiled Jews; and afterwards Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, had publicly announced his peculiar call to favour them. Thus the captivity of the Jews had been overruled to their temporal benefit. It required an effort of the leading and

Religious
character
of the
return
from
Babylon.

Reforms
of Ezra
and
Nehemiah.

more enthusiastic men to gather together a party of about 50,000 to accompany Zerubbabel and Joshua to re-establish Jerusalem and to rebuild the Temple, 536 B.C. With a limited territory confined to the small tribe of Benjamin, and a portion of the tribe of Judah, threatened continually by the heathen communities around them, and liable at any time to attacks upon their defenceless city, their outward circumstances were far from satisfactory; but they rebuilt the Temple, and re-established the priesthood and the sacrificial and other ordinances of the law of Moses—the law recognised by them as that of their nation, preserved and studied while in Babylonia, and not a new law, of which they and their fathers had been ignorant. Eighty years afterwards, 456 B.C., EZRA arrived, accompanied by a large party; and twelve years afterwards NEHEMIAH, 444 B.C., who had been appointed as Governor by the Persian king. By these energetic and self-denying devoted men, the spirits of the community were revived, order established, and grievances redressed. These reforms, timely effected, related to the then present necessities of the population, the relief of the poor from the usurious claims of the wealthy, the enforcement of the obligations of the payments required for the purpose of the Temple services, the support of the priests and Levites, and the safety of the city and Temple. The law respecting mixed marriages, which originally pointed against such unions with the nations of Canaan, and which had not been regarded as absolute in the case of other neighbouring people, was enforced with a strictness which required painful sacrifices of feeling on the part mainly of the priests and higher classes of Jewish society. For this astringent measure, Ezra and Nehemiah have been censured by the critics occupying the standpoint of modern liberalism.

But we must judge these re-founders of Judaism, not by the liberality of our expansive Christianity, but by the critical position of the small community at Jerusalem. The danger of being absorbed by their heathen neighbours, and the consequent effacement of any line of demarcation between the only visible Church of the true God and the heathen world, could not be doubted. It was imminent, and humanly speaking, nothing but the disruption of all social ties between Jew and Gentile could save the nationality and religion of Judaism. This catastrophe was prevented. From the memorable day (recorded in Nehemiah the viii. chap.) when Ezra "*read in the book the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading,*" the Jewish people have been remarkable for their adherence to the law, and faithful guardians of *the oracles of God*.

3. THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES, I. and II.—These books, originally united as one, are called in Hebrew the books "of the daily acts." The Septuagint translators, with reference to their supplementary character, applied to them the term *paraleipomena*, or "things omitted." In one respect these books differ from the other histories: they relate afresh and from a somewhat different standpoint the narrative which had been already given by others. The object of the writer is (1) To present the leading facts from the genealogical tables of the leading families, most important to be known as connected with the correct apportioning of the land. (2) To give special information respecting the ritualistic and religious ordinance of the Mosaic economy, and more especially those relating to the Temple and the priesthood. (3) A moral purpose, to enforce the lessons taught by the past history of the Israelitish nation, namely, that

Moral
purpose
of the
Books of
Chronicles

the prosperity and even the existence of the nation were connected with, and dependent upon, the faithful maintenance of the religious truths received from the fathers, and from their great law-giver Moses. The question of authorship is not easily settled. It is thought by some eminent critics that these books, with the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, are in reality one work by the same writer; others, with more probability, contend for a diversity of books and writers, retouched by a later editor by whom the genealogies, 1 Chronicles iii. 22—24, and Nehemiah xii. 11, 22, 23, were inserted. If so, there would be no difficulty in supposing that Ezra wrote the Chronicles as well as his own book, which is a continuation of the Chronicles. The last chapter of 2 Chronicles from verse 8 is attributed to Daniel, as it is thought to fill up a gap between chaps. ix. and x. in his book. If Ezra or some contemporary be the author, then the date may be about 450 B.C.—435 B.C. *Ewald*, who thinks the genealogies referred to are part of the original, thinks the books were written so late as 336 B.C.—323 B.C., while *Zunz* would go lower to 260 B.C., and *Spinoza* through the line of the Maccabees, 160 B.C. The testimony of *Josephus* is so clear as to the closing of the Canon against the reception of any new work after the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, about 400 B.C., as is sufficient to set aside the late dates of *Ewald* and *Zunz*, &c., though it is probable that there was a final redaction by *Jadua*, the High Priest, and the addition of the genealogies, 1 Chronicles iii. 22 to 24, about that time, say 300 B.C., in which it is possible some additions were made to the genealogical tables.

The date.

4. The attacks upon the genuineness and correctness of the author of the Chronicles have been peculiarly rabid, mainly from dogmatic reasons. These have been

Attacks
upon the
authority
of the
Chronicles

stated by *Bishop Lord A. C. Hervey*.¹ "It has been clearly shown that the attack was grounded, not upon any real marks of spuriousness in the books themselves, but solely upon the desire of the critics in question, to remove a witness whose evidence was fatal to their favourite theory as to the post-Babylonian origin of the Books of Moses. If the accounts in the Books of Chronicles of the courses of priests and Levites, and the ordinance of Divine service as arranged by David, and restored by Hezekiah and Josiah are genuine, it necessarily follows that the Levitical law, as set forth in the Pentateuch, was not invented after the return from the captivity. Hence this successful vindication of the authenticity of Chronicles has a very important bearing upon many of the very gravest theological questions." To the same effect *S. J. Curtiss* writes,² "If it (the Chronicles) can be conclusively proved to be veritable history, then the theories of *Graf*, *Kuenen*, and *Kayser* fall to the ground ;" and, if possible, still more conclusively we may quote the words of the leading opponent of the genuineness of the Chronicles, *De Wette*: "As the entire Jewish history, on its most interesting and important side, namely, that of religion, and the manner of observing the worship of God, *after the accounts in the Chronicles have been put out of the way*, . . . assumes quite a different shape ; so, also, the investigations about the Pentateuch take a different turn all at once ; *a multitude of troublesome proofs, difficult to put out of the way*, that the Mosaic books were in existence at an earlier time vanish," &c.³ The principal objectors are : (a) *De Wette*, who accuses the chronicler of distorting

¹ Smith's "Dict.," Vol. I. p. 309.

² Quoted by Keil, Vol. II. p. 8r,

³ Curtiss's "Levitical Priests," Clark's translation.
p. 100.

Bishop
Colenso's
attack
on the
chronicler.

and falsifying true history, of his partiality for the tribe of Levi, his similar predilection for Judah, and his hatred of Israel. (b) *Gramberg* charges the chronicler with systematically falsifying the history in a manner the most audacious. (c) *Graf* accuses him (1) of writing fictitious genealogies to prove the Levitical descent of the men in ancient times, in order to maintain their right to participate in the Divine services; (2) of partiality for the exclusive priesthood of the family of Aaron; (3) of referring everything that had in his time become established in law and usage to Moses, and of tracing all the arrangements of the Temple as they existed at his time (so far as they were not already in the law of Moses) to David as the founder of the Temple. So also *Kuenen*, *Kayser*, and *Wellhausen*. The defenders of the author of Chronicles against *De Wette*, *Graf*, &c., have been *Dähler*, *Movers*, *Keil*, and others. (d) *Bishop Colenso* ascribes the Books of Chronicles to a Levite who lived after Nehemiah's government, and probably so late as 336—323 B.C. His reasons are that the Daric is mentioned, a Persian coin first issued by Darius Hystaspes, 521—486 B.C., and therefore not likely to be in common circulation in Judæa in the time of Ezra. This is certainly most inconclusive, even if we accept as indubitable, the fact that the Daric was not in circulation earlier than the time of Darius Hystaspes. It seems singular that the Bishop, who considers the chronicler to have written in order to support the usurpation of the priesthood and to heighten its prestige, should fix upon a date so long after the restoration of the Temple service, on the return from captivity—nearly 200 years—since by that time the priestly system would have acquired all the prestige of antiquity. The Bishop uses language of the most unqualified character, to the disparagement of the

writer of the Book of Chronicles, remarking as follows : "When, however, we consider that for 2,000 years the whole course of Jewish history has been thrown into confusion, mainly by the acts of these writers, and that Christianity itself owes much of its past and present corruptions and superstitions, such as the idea of the priestly office and the popular notion of the atonement, based upon the supposed Divine origin of the sacrificial laws in the Pentateuch, to the existence of these priestly and Levitical fictions, it is not easy to speak lightly of a fraud which has had such enormous and far-reaching evil consequences : while we find here another warning—unhappily by no means unneeded in the present age—that 'lies spoken in the name of the Lord' (Zechariah xiii. 3), however well meant, can never work out the good of man or the righteousness of God." ¹

5. In this unjust attack on the character of the chronicler it is but just to state that *Graf* and *Kuenen* do not join ; they urge in extenuation, that which, however, leaves a sting behind almost as severe as *Dr. Colenso's* wholesale censure. *Graf* remarks that he arranged and coloured events after the popular legends, according to the end which he had in view. *Kuenen* blames the whole priesthood, the writer being their tool : "The individual (the chronicler) cannot, or can hardly, be held responsible for such representations, which, for the chief part, he received from others, and at most worked out and trimmed a little more." It is but just to state that *Professor Robertson Smith*, in his disquisitions bearing upon this theory of the late origin of the middle books of the Pentateuch, is always cautious and guarded in his expressions, and reverential in his tone. We refer with pleasure to an able vindication of the character of

¹ "Lectures on the Pentateuch," 8vo, 1873, p. 346.

these books to an article in the "London Quarterly Review."¹

Corrupt
text of the
Books of
Chronicles

6. The corruption of the text of the Chronicles has brought no small discredit upon the authority of the narrative. The exaggerations as to numbers arising out of the mistakes of copyists, rendered especially more easy by the use of letters to represent numerals, the discrepancies and apparent contradictions to the statements contained in the other historical books, cannot be denied; but they have been exaggerated, and can, most of them, be reconciled and accounted for without damage to the historical verity of the narrative. They have all been fully and exhaustively discussed in Keil,² Lange,³ and "Speaker's Commentary,"⁴ and, as will be seen on investigation, to relate mainly to numbers, genealogies, minute circumstances differing in details, which only require more information to be reconciled. Objections have been made by *Graf* and *Bishop Colenso* to 2 Chronicles, chaps. xxix. to xxxii., which record the piety of Hezekiah as fictitious. The Bishop's reason is characteristic of his consistent adhesion to his theory of Deuteronomist and Levitical interpolation. *The cities of the priests* are mentioned in chap. xxxi. 16, referring to Judges xxi. 9—19, "which cities" are, in his opinion, "a mere fiction of the Levitical legislators."⁵ Chapter xxiii. 11—37 is also rejected, as the narrative of Manasseh's repentance and restoration is regarded by him and by Dr. Davidson as "unhistorical additions."⁶ This gentleman has fully and fairly discussed the con-

¹ No. CV. pp. 104, &c.

² Keil, Introd., Vol. II. pp. 82-101.

³ Lange's "Com. Chron.," pp. 82—109.

⁴ "Speaker's Com.," Vol. III. pp. 169—173.

⁵ "Pentateuch," &c., Vol. VII. p. 352.

⁶ Davidson's "Introduction to Old Testament," Vol. II. pp. 100, 108, 206.

troverted points connected with the Books of Chronicles. He thinks the text "is more corrupt than that of any other sacred book, but that there is a favourable impression left on the reader's mind of the fidelity of the chronicler in the sections and particulars peculiar to himself." We suppose that these chapters were regarded as integral portions of the history when the Canon was finally closed, and that the textual corruptions had not then been introduced by careless copyists.

7. The style of the Chronicles is that of the later books as regards orthography and grammar, and in the use of words and phrases unknown in the age of the Pentateuch: of this a striking instance is given by Professor Delitzsch in the preface to Curtiss's "Levitical Priests."¹ "It is known that four colours were used for the coverings and curtains of the sanctuary, as well as for the clothes of the priests. All the portions of the Thorah in which the four colours occur are Elohistical. If they had been written after the exile, it might naturally be expected that at least here and there, if not throughout, those designations of colours which occur in later periods of the language would be found; but there is no trace of these. One of these four names of colours, תכלת (techéleth), *blue-purple*, has remained the same throughout all the periods of the language. But the name of *red-purple*, ארגמן (argaman), has been assimilated by the Aramaic language, so that it has been transformed into ארגון (argewan), as if it were confounded with gawna, Persian guna, the colour. The chronicler has adopted this word in its Aramaic form into the Hebrew (2 Chron. ii. 6). The Thorah, however, in the parallel passages (Ex. xxxv. 35, xxxviii. 23), and throughout, recognises the old Hebrew form. The scarlet or crimson in the

Style and
phraseo-
logy.

¹ Curtiss's "Levitical Priests," 12mo, 1877, preface, pp. xi., xii.

Thorah is everywhere called *הולעת שני* (tolá ath shani), and *vice versâ*; in the laws which relate to the cleansing of lepers, and of those who have become unclean through contact with a dead body, where a strip of wool which is coloured with this pigment is intended, *שני הולעת* (sheni tholá ath). This designation, which is not only taken from the name of the worm, namely, the insect of the *quercus coccifera*, but also from the intensity of the rays of light, and which is without doubt the complete and original designation, is exclusively Elohistic. In other places only *שני* (shani) or *תולע* (tolá) occurs. The chronicler represents the youngest period of the language, since he gives the Persian name of *ברמיל* (karmil) to this colour (2 Chron. ii. 6, 13, iii. 14). The designation of the white vegetable material of linen or cotton with *שש* (shesh) has also disappeared from the post-exilic language. The chronicler uses in its place *בוץ* (bus), Greek *βύσσος* (2 Chron. ii. 13, iii. 14; 1 Chron. xv. 27; 2 Chron. v. 12), and the author of the Book of Esther says *בוץ וארגמן* (bus we-argaman), where the older language would say *שש וארגמן* (shesh we-argaman), as in the Pentateuch and also in Prov. xxxi. 22. The post-exilic language has, besides, as a designation for white linen *חור* (chur) and *כרפס* (karpas): the influence of the Aramaic and Arian is everywhere evident, of which there is not a trace in the Elohistic language."

8. THE BOOK OF EZRA with Nehemiah was considered as one work, and until the time of Jerome the two books were united as such. Both are to a certain extent comprised of fragmentary records. The *first* part of the Book of Ezra (chaps. i. to vi.), from 536 B.C. to 516 B.C., gives the history of the return from Babylon, and the troubles of the returned exiles for a period of twenty-three years, during which Zerubbabel (of the house of

David) was governor, and Joshua high priest, while Zechariah and Haggai were prophets. The *second* part (chap. vii. to the end of the book) begins about sixty years later (with the commission given to Ezra by Artaxerxes Longimanus, King of Persia, 456 B.C.), the narrative portion of which contains the history of the events of only one year, to 455 B.C. The text is not in good condition, and abounds in Chaldaisms, like the Chronicles, with a few Persian words. The incorrections are chiefly in names and numbers. Chapters iv. 8 to vi. 10, vii. 12—26 are written in Chaldee. The Jewish writers, with *Keil* and most Christian critics, regard Ezra as the author, while *Bertheau* and *De Wette* would confine his authorship to the portion from chaps. vii. 12 to ix. 15, and *Bishop Lord A. C. Hervey* thinks he only wrote the last four chapters. The change of person from that of an autobiographer to the use of the personal pronoun has led to the supposition of a diversity of authorship, but this *enallage personum* is common in ancient writers, as well as in the Old Testament. *Bishop Colenso*, following *Graf* and others, sets aside as altogether inaccurate the previous notions of the Churches received from the Old Testament, of the peculiar position of Ezra and the importance of his labours; he thinks that the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah are forgeries of the Chronicler. His specific objections are—(a) He doubts the authenticity of the edict of Cyrus, because of the title "King of Persia," whereas, in chap. v. 13 he is called King of Babylon; he assumes that the edict was written in Hebrew, and therefore not likely to have been promulgated through the empire. These are frivolous objections: as if it were not a matter of notoriety that the titles of Eastern kings were varied, and as if there were no means of translating the royal edicts, and

Bishop
Colenso's
objec-
tions.

giving publicity to them in the several countries in which they were promulgated, in a language understood by the people. Witness the inscription at Behistan! (*b*) He assumes that the reference to Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes (chap. iv. 6, 7) is a reference to Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus, whereas by Ahasuerus is undoubtedly meant Cambyses, and by Artaxerxes Smerdis the impostor, who reigned only a few months, 521 B.C. (*c*) He thinks that the writer supposed Darius Hystaspes to have followed Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus; but if the Artaxerxes of the writer be Smerdis, then Darius is simply the successor of Smerdis according to the Persian history. (*d*) He regards as untrue the statement in chap. vi. that the Temple was finished according to the decree of Cyrus and Darius and Artaxerxes, since it was really completed in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, 50 years before Artaxerxes. ¹But it is obvious that the writer simply intended to indicate Artaxerxes, as having by his splendid gifts completed the work of his predecessors, and therefore deserved to be recorded.

Book of
Nehemiah.

9. THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH may be divided into four distinct parts. The first, chaps. i. to vii. by Nehemiah himself, then simply called a *pechah*, the origin of the official title *pasha* now used in Turkey. The *second*, chap. viii. to x., written probably by Ezra; in them Nehemiah is called *Tirshatha* (governor or cup-bearer). The *third*, chaps. xi. to xii. 26, contains six lists of great value, archæologically and genealogically. The *fourth*, chap. xii. 27 to the end of chap. xiii., probably by Nehemiah. No one doubts that the lists *first* and *second*, in part the *third*, are of Nehemiah's age. It is possible that the third list, chap. xii. 1—9, and the *fifth* list, chap. xii. 12—21, and the *sixth* list, chap. xii.

¹ "Pentateuch," Vol. VII., pp. 389, 411.

24—26, may have been added also by some one under the direction of Nehemiah; but the list of the high priests, verses 10 and 11, continued up to Jadda, with verses 22 and 23, are obviously additions, probably made by Jadda, who was high priest at the time of Darius Codomanus and Alexander the Great, 330 B.C. Bishop Colenso considers the first six chapters alone to be mainly the work of Nehemiah, the rest being by the Chronicler, and in his opinion of no authority.¹

THE BOOK OF ESTHER has been incorporated by the Jewish Church in the Canon, and is the authority for the institution of the feast of Purim.

Book of
Esther.

¹ "Pentateuch," Vol. VII., pp. 439, 440.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PROPHETICAL ORDER.

The
Prophets
the
ministers
of the
Theo-
cracy.

1. The existence of a prophetical class among the Israelites, supplementary to the legal priesthood, is a remarkable fact. At every period of the national history we find this irregular order, Divinely called to act as patriotic deliverers, wise rulers, or as religious reformers, to protest against idolatrous tendencies on the one hand, and against the opposite error so common to the religionists of all ages, that of resting in pharasaic ritualism, and thus honouring the letter of the law, while neglecting "*the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith.*"¹

The prophets were, in fact, the extraordinary, Divinely appointed, though irregular ministers of [the Theocracy.

2. From the division of the kingdom to the captivity, the prophetic order occupied a most important position in the Jewish State ; they were the main preservers of the Israelitish religion ; for, though provision had been made by the institution of the Aaronic priesthood and the Levitical ministry for the carrying out the sacrificial system and the service of the Temple, the result seems to have been limited to the maintenance of the ritual, with the spiritual meaning of which the greater part of the priests and people had but small sympathy. No class of religious teachers appear to have been so gene-

¹ Matthew xxiii. 23.

rally unfaithful as the priesthood of the Israelitish people. At certain periods of peculiar trial, they are described to us in terms which place them almost as low as the so-called priests of some of the Eastern Christian Churches. There were of course glorious exceptions to this general deterioration. In Samuel's days God raised up others to take the place of the unfaithful officials by the institution of "Schools of the Prophets," sacred colleges for the training of young men whose hearts were influenced by a desire to maintain the old truths of the Mosaic Law. These men became the poets, historians, the expounders of the law, displaying especially the spiritual bearing of its teachings, and enforcing the necessity of a vital, deep personal religion. (Micah vi. 8; Hosea vi. 6; Amos vi. 21; Isaiah i. 10—20.) The prophets were also a conservative political power in the State, and not without reason in a theocratic government which existed solely for a religious purpose; and, strong in their religious position, they were able to withstand the most powerful of the idolatrous rulers of Judah and Israel. The histories of *Elijah* and *Elisha* are proofs of their singular influence. The writings of sixteen of these prophets, covering a period of nearly five centuries, from Jonah to Malachi, have been preserved by the Jewish Church, which has thus handed down for the instruction of all ages the evidences of its own unfaithfulness, corruption, and punishment. Incidentally, the prophetic writings point to the spasmodic character of the piety of the kingdom of Judah, and the fortunes of the schismatical and heretical corruption of Mosaicism in the Israelitish kingdom, the result of the policy of Jeroboam. No greater proof can be given of the hold which the Mosaic institutions possessed over the people, than the

Schools
of the
Prophets.

Proofs
of the
knowledge
of the
Law in
Israel.

fact that Jeroboam's system was a close imitation of it. The priests and Levites had sacrificed their lands and houses in Israel, and had taken refuge in the orthodox territory of Judah. Yet Jeroboam dared not attempt to set aside the worship of Jehovah, but merely to alter the symbols, to substitute the calves at Dan, &c., in the place of the manifestation of the Divine presence in the Temple at Jerusalem. All the ordinances of the law were maintained—its feasts and festivals, the sacrificial system, the pecuniary obligations, and the new priesthood. There was toleration for the votaries of the old faith. The schools of the prophets remained in Israel, and appear to have been confined to that kingdom, though there may have been such in Judah, which have not been mentioned by the Jewish chroniclers. The Mosaic Law was taught, and confronted the new system in Samaria, Bethel, and Gilgal, the head-quarters of the schism. *The existence of a written Law, and known as such by the people*, is evident from the allusion in Hosea viii. 12, and from the fact that *the language of the prophets*, abounding in reference to its peculiar teaching, *could only have been understood by a people familiar with its language and precepts*. There were false prophets claiming to be true prophets of Jehovah—counterfeits very numerous, and always opposed to the genuine prophets—but none of their writings have been preserved. By some of the Higher Critical historians these prophets are regarded as the true patriots, because they advocated resistance to the Assyrian and Babylonian powers, which resistance was followed by the destruction of the Hebrew monarchies, and the captivity of the people. The attempt to nationalise the foul and cruel abominations of Phœnician and Syrian idolatry into Israel and Judah,

was by the prophets of Jehovah, most religiously and patriotically resisted. But it is to the teaching of the prophets to which we would direct attention, a teaching far in advance of the age in which they lived. It is distinguished by three things:—First, a jealous regard for the purity of the monotheistic faith, a hatred of every form of idolatry; secondly, the prominence given to the spirituality of religious worship, and to the practical character of its precepts; thirdly, and the most remarkable, considering the intense Judaism of the prophets (which our philosophers would call fanaticism), the grand catholic views and doctrines which predominate in all their writings—in the earliest deliverances of Jonah and Joel, as well as in those of Micah and Isaiah. It is, in fact, a carrying out the full meaning of the first promise in Eden (Genesis iii. 15), and the subsequent covenant with Abraham (Genesis xxvi. 4), by which a share in the blessing, through the seed of Abraham, was guaranteed to all mankind. “The two oldest written prophecies are those of Jonah and Joel; the object of the former of these books is to set before us the nature of prophecy itself, while Joel strikes the keynote of that spiritual teaching which has made the prophets the instructors not of one age only, but of all ages and people. . . . If there be anything plainly taught in the prophets, it is that Judaism was to give place to a universal religion; and the first thought that strikes us in the Book of Jonah is that this earliest book of written prophecy is a narrative of a mission to a Gentile city, and that city the sworn foe and enemy of Israel. . . . Surely such a prophecy was a fit preface and introduction to the whole prophetic Canon, for it gives the outline and measure of that which succeeding prophets did but fill up and complete.” “The Book of

Catholic
character
of the
prophetic
teaching.

Jonah teaches us the conditionality of the Divine threats and promises. In the moral government of God prophecy announces no irrevocable destiny, no blind, impending, irresistible fate, but is a warning given by an omniscient but merciful Ruler to beings capable of repentance, and of thereby reversing the decrees of justice. *Joel's* teaching is equally spiritual and catholic; the immediate occasion is the twofold calamity of a long-continued drought, followed by a plague of locusts. His prophecy enforces the lesson which we are slow to learn, *that the so-called laws of nature mean only the presence of God's almighty will*, the immanence of Deity, but that God from the first so willed them that they should minister to man's probation, and to the individual good of all who love Him. In all the dealings of God's providence there is a moral purpose; the object designed is to move man to repentance, and wean him from sin, that the door of spiritual life may be opened, sin pardoned, and man restored to the favour of God. Whence had these men, Jonah, Joel, and the succeeding prophets, their advanced and more capacious and more spiritual views of God's merciful purpose for man? There was nothing in the influences around them to account for this originality. The 'light shining in a dark place' was from heaven; this is the only rational conclusion."¹

Mis-
sionary
feeling.

3. It is remarkable that from the time of the early prophets there is observable an increasing consciousness among the more thoughtful and pious Israelites of the spiritual purpose of the existence of their nation, and of the eventual triumph of the religion of Jehovah, the God of their father Abraham. In the sixty-seventh Psalm, which has been aptly called "the Paternoster of the Old Testament Church," the missionary feeling prepon-

¹ "Bampton Lectures," 1869, by Dr. R. Payne Smith, 8vo.

derates and culminates in the prayer, that "*Thy way may be known upon the earth, Thy saving health among all nations*" (verse 2). We have too much overlooked the fact of the absorption of heathens into the households of the Patriarchs, and afterwards in the time of the regular Israelitish state. The Mosaic Law made provision for such cases. In the genealogical tables we find individuals of this class adopted into Israelitish families, and occupying positions of the highest importance. The Babylonish captivity not only benefited the cause of true religion, by the dispersion of the Jews over the East, and eventually in Southern Europe; but also by the light from the Jewish sacred books, perceptible in its influence upon the subsequent literature of the Greeks. This has been fully shown by Bishop Gray, in his "*Connection between the Sacred Writings and the Literature of Jewish and Heathen Authors.*"¹

4. To the mass of readers it is a great misfortune that the prophetic books are not arranged chronologically, as in their present order they cannot be well read intelligently. It is not difficult to fix their relative positions with sufficient exactness for our purpose. (1) Jonah, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Hosea, more or less contemporary from 856 to 725 B.C. (2) Isaiah, Micah, and Nahum, from 785 to 700 B.C. (3) Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, from 606 to 534 B.C. (4) Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, from 520 to 420 B.C. *Their writings were made public and circulated at the time, as we may gather from the peculiarities of style and expression, and one common circle of thoughts observable in all the prophetic writings.* Amos quotes Joel, Isaiah quotes Micah, Zechariah quotes Habakkuk, Nahum refers to Jonah, Jeremiah takes from Obadiah,

Chrono-
logical
order of
the pro-
phetical
writings.

¹ Two Vols, 8vo, 1819.

Daniel understood *by books* the approaching end of the seventy years' captivity foretold by Jeremiah (Daniel ix. 2), which would have been all but impossible had these prophecies not been in circulation among the more educated classes of Israel. Into the distinctive peculiarities of each of these prophets we cannot enter, the limits of this work forbidding such an attempt. We must refer to the standard commentaries, of which there are several of great merit devoted to each prophet, and to the writings of Bishop Newton, Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Sherlock, John Smith, Davison, J. Pye Smith, Josiah Conder, Fairbairn, W. L. Alexander, Strachey, Sam Lee, Tregelles, Urwick, Auberlin, Dr. Rule, Birks, Stanley Leathes, T. K. Cheyne, and others, not forgetting R. Payne Smith (now Dean of Canterbury), from whose valuable Bampton Lectures for 1869 we have largely quoted. The important work of Dr. Pusey on the "Minor Prophets," 4to, is now completed. Ewald on "The Prophets," and Rowland Williams, represent the views of the Higher Criticism. It is not necessary to give the names of the prophetic interpreters of the Millennial School. We may read some of them, as Elliott, Ben Ezra, and Edward Irving, with profit, without accepting all their conclusions.

5. The objections of the sceptical school are not confined to the genuineness of a portion of particular books, as Isaiah, Zechariah, or Daniel, in which critics of the most undoubted orthodoxy have occasionally coincided, but with prophecy itself. The foundation of their "Higher Criticism" is the dogmatic assumption to which Spinoza first gave currency, that prophecy, as commonly understood, is a miracle, and consequently an impossibility, and that all which we call prophecy in the sacred books is *vaticinium ex eventu*, a prediction of an

event already fulfilled. Hitzig expresses the opinions of this school in the assertion that "we cannot attribute to the prophets any proper foreknowledge, but that their foreknowledge must be confined within the limits of what we call anticipation and inference from fact." If, however, miracle is impossible, there can be no direct Divine communication to man, and the notion of a religion resting upon revelation is an absurdity. This point has been fully considered and disposed of by Christian divines; and even men opposed to Christianity, as Lord Herbert and Lord Bolingbroke, agree with the divines, and regard the assumption of the impossibility of a Divine communication with man as untenable. "On the clear tablets of the Eternal Mind are inscribed all occurrences, past, present, and to come, known with equal exactitude and minuteness. And why should it be thought incredible that He should impart some of this knowledge to His servants" ¹ for wise purposes, and as evidences of their Divine mission? To the Christian mind prophecy is a fact intimately interwoven with the whole course of the Divine economy. The first promise (Gen. iii. 15) is a prophecy, so also that to the patriarch Abraham (Gen. xii. 3), and the last words of Moses in Deuteronomy are a full and detailed prophecy. All the prophecies of the sixteen prophets whose writings are contained in the Old Testament, presuppose the leading prophetic declarations contained in the earlier Scriptures, as, for instance, in Leviticus xxvi. 14—40; Deuteronomy xxviii. 32, 34, 36, 37, 49 to 57, 62 to 68, which speak of the chastisement and captivity of the Israelites; those also which point to their restoration on repentance, found in Leviticus xxvi. 40—45, Deuteronomy xxx. 1, 10, to which also King Solomon referred in his prayer,

Prophecy
implies
miracle.

¹ Ayre's "Horne's Introduction," 8vo, 1860, p. 790.

1 Kings viii. 46—50, ix. 6, 9. The force and peculiar adaptation of the latter prophetic writings cannot be understood unless we keep in mind the general reception by their hearers of these earlier prophecies contained in the Divine revelations given to the Jewish people.

Dr. William Kay's striking remarks on prophecy and miracles.

6. The objection to the possession of foreknowledge implied in the writings of the prophets is met by *Dr. William Kay* in his "Introduction to the Book of Isaiah,"¹ in reply to Knobel's remarks on chap. liii. "As to its being a prophecy, *how could it?*" he argues: "*the writer lived five hundred years before Christ*—as if the length of time by which the prediction is separated from the event were not the very circumstance that gives eminence to the prophecy. What if one argued against the scientific view of the solar system thus? (1) That matter should exercise such a force as gravitation is *inconceivable*. (2) As for the earth's being kept in its orbit by the sun's attraction—*how can it?* Science answers: the mysteriousness of the fact is admitted; the deeper we go into nature, the more mysterious it becomes, but the fact itself remains beyond reach of doubt." So also with respect to the objections made to the prophetic designation of Cyrus (chap. xlv.). "Thus it has been said, '*If in any other book you saw the name of Cyrus, you would say at once that the book was not written before the time of Cyrus; then you must in consistency say so here.*' In other words, a prophetic book must *in consistency* be treated as if it were not prophetic." With respect to the assumption that it is inconceivable that God should communicate to man any foreknowledge or prevision of future events, Dr. Kay remarks: (1) "The dictum is generally introduced as if it were an axiomatic

¹ "Speaker's Com.," Vol. V. pp. 10, 11.

truth. This, however, it cannot be, for a large portion of mankind, including not a few who have been eminent for scientific ability, philosophic insight, and practical intelligence, have believed that such communication has actually taken place. It can have no claim, therefore, to being an axiom. (2) Nor yet can it be established by reasoning, whether deductive or inductive. For a *deductive* proof, it would have to be shown either that God has not the *power* to impart such knowledge, or that it did not enter into His all-wise plan for the government of the world to do so. To assert the first (it could be but *assertion*), would be to limit the Almighty. To assert the second, a man must needs be himself omniscient. . . . As to *induction*, we may say boldly that an inductive process, legitimately performed on the facts supplied by the Bible, establishes incontestably that men have foretold future events which lay beyond merely human ken ; that a succession of such men professed to be sent by God to deliver such predictions ; that their utterances were in many cases in direct opposition to the whole tendency of thought and feeling which prevailed in their age ; that this exposed them to much outward suffering. . . . That as regards the leading points of their testimony—those which relate to the coming in of a new dispensation—their words have, at any rate, found a most remarkable amount of verification in the history of Jesus Christ, and the formation of Christendom.”¹

¹ “Speaker’s Com.,” Vol. V. pp. 3, 4.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

I. Of the personal history of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, we know nothing beyond what may be gathered from his writings, and from the old traditions of his martyrdom by Manasseh, to which the passage, Hebrews xi. 37, is supposed to refer. His prophetic life began either four years before Uzziah's death, 762 B.C., or in the last year of Uzziah, 759 B.C. He ceased to prophesy either in the seventeenth year of Hezekiah's reign, 710 B.C., or in his last year, 698 B.C., the latter the most probable. The lowest calculation gives him a ministry of forty-nine years; the highest sixty-four years, extending over the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judd. Bishop Wordsworth sets before us the position of this, *the greatest* of the *four* leading prophets.¹

"Providentially Isaiah was called to the prophetic office before the destruction of the kingdom of Israel. He had, therefore, a vast future before him. The kingdom of Syria was still standing, but that monarchy was soon about to fall. Assyria was arising to the zenith of its glory. Egypt was its rival in the south; Babylon was in the far off future. Observe, therefore, Isaiah's prophetic position; he was at Jerusalem, the religious centre of Israel and Judah. Judah itself was called in the Scriptures 'the midst of the nations' (Ezekiel v. 5) : on the north-east was Assyria, and

¹ "Commentary," Vol. V. p. 7.

after it Babylon ; on the north were the kingdoms of Israel and Syria, and the rich commercial city of Tyre on its island rock, the queen of the seas ; on the east and south-east were Ammon, Moab, and Edom, connected by community of origin with Israel, but Israel's bitter foes ; and further to the south-east the desert of Arabia, where his fathers had wandered ; and on the south-west was Philistia, Judah's near neighbour and inveterate enemy ; on the south was the great kingdom of Egypt, distinguished by arts and arms, and ever and anon making hostile inroads into Judah, or alluring it to 'court its alliance as a defence against its northern enemy, Assyria ;' and still further south, the tribes of Ethiopia, stately in stature, and renowned and feared for their warlike prowess. Isaiah looked forth on these empires and kingdoms from his watch-tower in Zion ; he contemplated them as a Divine astronomer, with his prophetic telescope, from his spiritual observatory ; and he was enabled by the Spirit of God to foretell the rising and setting of all these stars and constellations. He looked down also upon what was at his feet, 'the Valley of Visions,' as it is called, Jerusalem, and he foretold her destiny. And far beyond all these he beheld and described the dread transactions of the Day of Doom."

Considering the important bearing of Isaiah's prophecies, it would be well for the student to read carefully the article *Isaiah* in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary"¹ and in Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopædia" (third edition),² and the "Introduction to the Book of Isaiah" by *Dr. Kay* in the "Speaker's Commentary,"³ and the magnificent account of Isaiah's times in *Dean Stanley's* "History of

¹ "Bib. Dict.," Vol. I. p. 875.

² "Bib. Cyc.," Vol. II. p. 410.

³ "Speaker's Com.," Vol. V. pp.

1—24.

the Jewish Church,"¹ in which the downward course of the Israelitish and Jewish kingdoms is exhibited with a pictorial power which rivets the attention. Another remarkable work by *Sir Edward Strachey*, entitled "Jewish History and Politics in the times of Sargon and Sennacherib; an Inquiry into the Historical Meaning and Purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah;"² a work which, with some minor defects, "grasps the real meaning of Jewish history, and throws upon its various incidents the light derived from a wide and careful study of politics and statesmanship."³ *Cheyne's* last work on Isaiah is not yet completed, but so far as we may judge from the first volume, will be a great addition to the critical library.

2. The position of Isaiah, as the first in the order of the four great prophets as they stand in the Hebrew Bible, has been disputed. In a tradition preserved in the Talmud, it is said to have been preceded by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and this order is observed in the German and French MSS. The reason assigned is, that Jeremiah and Ezekiel being minatory prophets, Isaiah was placed after them as a consolatory prophet, and as an antidote. The more probable reason is from the intimate connection of the Books of Kings with Jeremiah, and from the notion that Jeremiah was their author. Some of the Higher Critics think that "many later prophecies had been incorporated with those of Isaiah, and therefore the first place was not due to him."⁴ This notion, which would convert the Book of Isaiah's prophecies into a sort of Hebrew anthology, has been

¹ "Commentary," Vol. II. pp. 450—482.

² One Vol. 8vo. New Edition. 1874.

³ "London Quarterly," Vol. XLIII. p. 475.

⁴ Davidson's "Int. to O. T.," Vol. III. 1.

fairly disposed of by Professor J. A. Alexander, of Prince Town, New Jersey.¹ In the Masora, which represents the Jewish criticism of the sixth century, and in the Spanish MSS., and in the two oldest Hebrew MSS., and in all the ancient versions, the order of the Hebrew Bible and of the modern versions is observed.

3. Within the last century, from the year 1797, conjectural criticism has revelled at will in the creation of theories bearing upon the authority, the order, and the composition of almost every chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah. *Koppe* in that year translated Bishop Lowth's notes into German, and was the first in modern times who questioned the claims of chapters xl. to lxvi. to be conceded as a portion of the original prophecy of Isaiah. Before *Koppe*, one Jewish rabbi alone, *Aben Ezra*, in the eleventh century, had obscurely hinted a similar conclusion. This theory, asserted and defended on principles which, with strange inconsistency, have not been applied to Micah and other prophetic writings, has been largely accepted by Continental critics, and to this day quoted in works of general literature as if it were an indisputable fact. It has been the fruitful parent of a large number of various and contradictory criticisms, the principal of which will be stated in the order of the chapters to which they refer. If we were to receive these guesses as proved results of sober criticism, the genuine prophecies of the great evangelical prophet would be confined to the following chapters, i. to xii., xiv. to verse 24, xv. to xx., xxi. to verse 11, xxii., xxiii., xxviii. to xxxiii.; and even of these limited remains, admitted generally to be genuine, it will be seen that exceptions are taken, which, if admitted, would reduce the Book of

Koppe's
notes on
Lowth.

¹ "Prophecies of Isaiah." Two Vols. 8vo, 1847. Preface to Introduction, p. xvii.

the prophecies of Isaiah to a mere collection of miscellaneous predictions; a sort of prophetic anthology, ascribed by ignorance or carelessness to Isaiah.

Early
prophecies

4. The *earlier* prophecies of Isaiah comprise the first thirty-nine chapters. The dates and authorships of the respective chapters and portions of chapters, as given by the Higher Critics, are in the following sections placed under the portions to which they are assigned.

Chapter I. verse 1, is considered as an introduction to the entire book by Le Clerc, Michaelis, Hitzig, Scholtz, Schroeder, Henderson, and Cheyne: on the contrary, Vittinga, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Maurer, and Koppe, regard it as simply an introduction to the first chapter. The time of the composition of this chapter is referred, as follows, to the periods of the reigns of the several kings as below.

1. Uzziah, latter part of his reign, or under the regency of Jotham, by Caspari and the older critics, Grotius, Cocceius, and by Kay.

2. Jotham, by Calvin, Lowth, and Hendewerk—the latter doubts the genuineness of the first verse.

3. Ahaz, by Gesenius, Maurer, Knobel, De Wette, Havernick, Hensler, Movers, Davidson.

4. Hezekiah (after the invasion of Sennacherib), by Eichhorn, Michaelis, Paulus, Ewald, Hitzig, Umbreit, Bleek, Alexander, Keil: also by Jarchi and Vittinga.

Chapters II., III., IV., form one prophecy.

1. Jotham (as regent), by Hengstenberg, Drechsler, Caspari, Keil: Uzziah by Kay.

2. Jotham (when king), by Michaelis, De Wette, Knobel, Henderson.

3. Ahaz, by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, Stähelin, and Cheyne.

4. Hezekiah, by Kleinert, Roorda.

N.B.—The verses 2, 3, 4 of the second chapter agree almost verbally with Micah iv. 1 to 4, the one prophet quoting the other, but to which the priority is due cannot be decided. Vogel and Ewald think that both quoted from an old prophet supposed to be Joel.

N.B.—Roorda thinks that chapters 1 to v., excepting chapters i. 1 and ii. 1 to 4, belong to Micah: this opinion is combated by

Havernick: these prophets were contemporaries and fellow labourers.

Chapter V. is a distinct prophecy, of the same date as the chapters ii., iii., iv., though a little later, not to Jotham's reign, as supposed by Vitranga, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, but to Ahaz; this is the opinion of Davidson and Cheyne: to Uzziah by Kay.

Chapter VI. 1. The year in which King Uzziah died, by Keil and Cheyne: Jotham by Kay.

2. After Sennacherib's invasion, by Hitzig, who regards the vision as a fiction.

3. Ahaz or Hezekiah, by Ewald, Credner, Knobel, but based on the history of the vision: so also Davidson, who does not deny the reality of the vision.

Chapters VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII. belong, according to Keil, Havernick, Drechsler, and Davidson, to the first year of Ahaz, the last three discourses being about three-quarters of a year later than the first. Time of Ahaz by Kay.

1. Verses 1 to 16 of chapter vii. are doubted by Gesenius as not written by Isaiah; his opinion refuted by Kleinert, Hitzig, Havernick.

2. Chapters ix. 7 to x. 4 are supposed by Gesenius and Knobel to date from the captivity of a part of Israel by Tiglath Pileser, King of Assyria; but this does not appear from chapter ix. 9, 10. Cheyne thinks that this section only assumed its present form long after the original utterances in the days of Jotham.

3. Chapters x. 5 to xii. 6 are by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, De Wette, and Knobel, dated after the taking of Samaria by Shalmaneser; by Ewald, after Sennacherib's expedition to Egypt; by Havernick, between the sixth and fourteenth year of Hezekiah; these two latter opinions are not supported by x. 24. All the matter from viii. 5 to xii. 6 presupposes one and the same date of composition.

4. Koppe disputes the genuineness of chapters xi., xii.; so also Vater and Rosenmüller; their views are replied to by Gesenius and Beckhans. Verses xii. 1 to 6, are disputed by Ewald, but defended by Umbreit and Havernick.

Chapters XIII. to XIV. 23, and XXI., verses 1 to 10, which are prophecies against Babylon, are disputed as not forming part of Isaiah's genuine prophecy by the following critics: Rosenmüller, Justi, Paulus, Eichhorn, and Bertholdt, Gesenius, De Wette, Maurer, Ewald, Hendewerk, Knobel, Umbreit, Hertzfeld, Bleek, and Davidson. They are, on the other hand, vindicated by

Quoted
by later
prophets.

J. D. Michaelis, Hensler, Uhland, Beckhans, Jahn, Dereser, Havernick, Drechsler, Nagelbach, and Cheyne.

1. These chapters are attributed by Rosenmüller, &c., to a "great unknown" prophet about the time of the exile. Yet they are quoted by the later prophets, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Nahum, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, which is a sufficient proof of their earlier date.¹ But Davidson thinks that Habakkuk and Nahum are the originals from which Isaiah copied. Of this there is no proof.

2. Chapters xiii. and xiv. are ascribed to the earlier part of the reign of Ahaz; but xiv. 28 to 32, against Philistia, to the latter year of Ahaz, by Keil, Vittinga, Drechsler. In these chapters there are evident references to Joel and Amos.²

3. Chapter xiv. 24 to 27, against Assyria: before Sennacherib's army was destroyed, by Keil; but supposed to be a fragment of a longer prophecy by Davidson.

4. Chapters xii.—xiv. 27, time of Ahaz by Kay; chapter xiv. to the end, in the first half of Hezekiah's reign by Kay.

Chapters XV., XVI., a prophecy against Moab, is by some critics attributed—1, to an ancient prophet, but repeated by Isaiah with the addition of verses 13, 14 of chapter xvi. This is the view taken by Gesenius, Ewald, Umbreit, Maurer, and Knobel, but opposed by Nagelbach.

2. To Jeremiah by Koppe, Augusti, Bertholdt, opposed by Beckhans.

3. To Jonah, the son of Amittai, by Hitzig, opposed by Credner and others.

4. These opinions, opposed by Hendewerk, Havernick, Bleek, Drechsler, Kleinert, Keil, seem to confirm the old opinion maintained by Vittinga and others, that the germ of this prophecy is in the old prophecy against Moab, in the Pentateuch (Numbers xxiv. 17). The date assigned by Keil is after the carrying away of part of the Israelites by Tiglath Pileser to Assyria, about the time of Shalmaneser's expedition against Samaria.

5. Henderson thinks that the verses 13 and 14 of chapter xvi. were added by an inspired prophet a century after Isaiah; Alexander thinks in the days of Nebuchadnezzar.

6. Hitzig, Credner, and Kay suppose this prophecy against Moab to have been repeated by Isaiah in the reign of Hezekiah 717 B.C. Knobel much earlier, 744 or 745 B.C., in the reign of Ahaz or Jotham.

¹ Keil, Vol. I. p. 303.

² See Keil, Vol. I. p. 303.

7. Cheyne thinks that this prophecy is one edited and added to by Isaiah.

Chapters XVII., XVIII., against Syria and Ephraim are one, not to be separated; so Drechsler, in opposition to Havernick.

1. The date, according to Keil, Drechsler, and Kay, is about the time of the accession of Hezekiah.

2. Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, place chapter xvii. 1 to 11, to the earlier part of the reign of Ahaz.

3. Hitzig and Havernick place the whole of chapter xvii. to the early part of the reign of Ahaz, and chapter xviii. to the time of Hezekiah.

Chapter XIX. against Egypt.

1. Verses 18 to 20 are disputed by Koppe, Eichhorn, and Gesenius, and defended by Beckhans.

2. Verses 16 to 25 are attributed by Hitzig and Zunz to the Priest Onias, who built the Temple at Heliopolis, in Egypt. It is defended as genuine by Rosenmüller, Hendewerk, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel, Caspari, Drechsler, Bleek, and doubtfully by Cheyne. The dates assigned are—

Onias
and the
Temple in
Egypt.

1. To the reign of Manasseh, by Gesenius and Rosenmüller.

2. To 717 B.C., when So (Tirhakah) began to reign, by Knobel.

3. To the time of the latest of Isaiah's prophecies, by Cheyne, 672 B.C., or perhaps 720 B.C. Cheyne has an interesting reference to the then condition of Egypt.¹

4. About the time of Hezekiah's accession, with chapters xvii. and xviii., by Keil and Kay.

Chapter XX., a little later than the date of the preceding chapter (Keil).

Chapter XXI., verses 1 to 10 (see chapters xiii., xiv.).

Verses 11 to 15 attributed to an older prophet by Davidson, and ascribed to the date of the reign of Jotham, 745 B.C. (as only probable); but by Keil to the early part of Hezekiah's reign; so also Kay.

Chapter XXII., written after the fall of Samaria, but before Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, according to Keil; first half of Hezekiah's reign by Kay.

Chapter XXIII., against Tyre, considered by certain critics as not genuine, on account of the events being foretold so long before; especially verses 15 to 18, which are supposed by Eich-

¹ Vol. I. pp. 109, 110.

horn and Ewald to be a later edition of the Persian period. It is attributed—

1. To Jeremiah by Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Movers, and Bleek; but Movers afterwards thought it was originally from Isaiah, re-edited by Jeremiah!

2. To a younger contemporary of Isaiah, by Ewald.

3. Defended as genuine by Gesenius, De Wette, Knobel, Hendewerk, Drechsler, Keil, Alexander, Kay, and Cheyne. The date is probably 709 B.C. The style is attacked by Hitzig and Ewald, but defended by Umbreit and Drechsler.

4. This chapter is probably soon after the fall of Samaria.

Prophetic
fore-
knowledge
denied.

Chapters XXIV., XXV., XXVI., XXVII., are considered as not genuine, because their standpoint is the Babylonish captivity, which could not be foreseen by Isaiah (prophecy being denied so far as future distant events are concerned), by Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Vatke, Bleek, Davidson, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller,¹ Umbreit, Knobel. Its genuineness is defended by Rosenmüller,² Arndt, Welte, Drechsler, Delitzsch, Havernick, Kleinhardt, Keil, Henderson, Alexander, Nagelbach, and Cheyne. Various dates are assigned.

1. After the fall of Babylon (to which it refers), by Gesenius, Umbreit and Knobel.

2. After the destruction of Nineveh (to which it refers), according to Hitzig, by an Ephraimite and eye-witness.

3. When Cambyses was about to invade Egypt, by Ewald.

4. The Maccabean age, by Vatke.

5. After the fall of Assyria, by some Jewish prophet in Judæa, by Bleek.

Jeremiah.

6. The 24th chapter is by Jeremiah in the opinion of Herzfield.

7. Soon after the fall of Samaria, by Keil and the orthodox critics generally. The first half of Hezekiah's reign by Kay.

Chapters XXVIII., XXIX., XXX., XXXI., XXXII., XXXIII., almost commonly held as genuine, and believed to be written within the first fourteen years of Hezekiah by Kay and others—not all at once, but at various times. Chapter xxviii., within the first three years of Hezekiah: chapter xxxiii. in the fourteenth year, and chapters xxix., xxx., xxxi., xxxii., in the intervening years. Koppe doubts the genuineness of chapter xxx. 1 to 27, and Ewald thinks chapter xxxiii. may have been written by a younger disciple of Isaiah; this has been refuted by his fellow critics.

Chapters XXIV., XXXV., form one prophecy of the destruc-

¹ "Scholia," 1st Ed.

² "Scholia," 2nd Ed.

tion of Babylon, and are of course considered as by a late author, "the great unknown" of chapters xl. to lxvi., by Gesenius and Hitzig, while Ewald thinks they are by another prophet. As in reference to chapters xiii., xiv., and xxi., the reason assigned is founded on the impossibility of a prediction of future events by an inspired prophet! Davidson lays down the maxim, "No prophet throws himself absolutely, ideally, and at once, into a later period than his own." Caspari proves that these chapters were used by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah. The date is about the time of Sennacherib's invasion (Keil): so also Kay.

David-
son's
canon of
prophecy.

Chapters XXXVI., XXXVII., XXXVIII., XXXIX., are almost identical with 2 Kings, chapter xviii. 13 to chapter xx. 19, and 2 Chronicles, chapter xxxii., and relate to the history of Sennacherib's invasion. It is probable that both the narratives are taken from a third account, fuller in its historical statements, such as is noticed in 2 Chronicles xxxii. 32: chapters xxxviii. and xxxix. of Isaiah, in order of time, preceding xxxvi. and xxxvii.

5. The second portion of the Book of Isaiah, chapters xl. to lxvi., is by the Higher Critics generally attributed to "*the great unknown*" prophet, who lived about the time of the Babylonian captivity. The unity is also questioned.

I. The unity is denied by *Koppe*, who thought Ezekiel, or some of the prophets of the exile, wrote some of these prophecies, and of the earlier ones also, *Martini*, *Bertholdt*, *Eichhorn*, and *Knobel*. *Ewald* thinks that chapters liii. 1 to 12, lvi. 9 to lvii. 11, are from older prophets, and chapters lxiii. 7 to lxvi. from a later prophet: this view is opposed by *Meier*, *Caspari*, *Delitzsch*, and *Drechsler*. The unity is affirmed by *Gesenius*, *Hitzig*, *De Wette*, as well as by *Hengstenberg* and the advocates of the genuineness of this portion of the prophecy, and is now generally admitted by critics of every school.

The later
prophecies
of Isaiah.

II. The authorship of this second portion of the Book of Isaiah is denied as the production of the prophet himself, mainly on dogmatic grounds, to which we have

¹ Vol. III. p. 29.

The
supposed
"great
unknown"
prophet.

already referred (in paragraph six of the preceding chapter). The objectors suppose that chapters xiii., xiv. to verse 23, xxi., verses 1 to 10, xxiv. to xxvii., with chapters xl. to lxvi., belong to some unknown prophet who lived about a century after Isaiah, in the period of the exile. We may mention as the principal of these the names of *Koppe*, with whom in modern times the notion originated, 1797, *Eichhorn*, *Justi*, *Bauer*, *Paulus*, *Bertholdt*, *Koster*, *Augusti*, *Gesenius*, *De Wette*, *Hitzig*, *Knobel*, *Umbreit*, *Davidson*, *Ewald*, *Bleek*. (2) *Bleek* thinks that chapters lvi. 9 to lvii. 11 were from an older prophecy, possibly by Isaiah, and inserted by the unknown writer who composed chapters lxiii. to lxvi., or perhaps lviii. to lxvi., after his return to Canaan. (3) *Ewald* thinks the writer was a Jew who lived in Pelusium, Egypt, having gone there with Jeremiah! On the other hand, a large number of critics as respectable as their opponents, advocate the genuineness of this second portion, as part of the original prophecy of Isaiah, namely *Fahn*, *Möller*, *Kleinert*, *Hensler*, *Piper*, *Beckhans*, *Dereser*, *Drechsler*, *Greve*, *Schleier*, *Meier*, *Hengstenberg*, *Havernick*, *Keil*, *J. Pyc Smith*, *Henderson*, *Alexander*, and others. Most of the English critics are of this opinion, the writers in Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," and the "Speaker's Commentary," and *Kitto's* "Biblical Encyclopædia," *Birks*, *H. Browne* (Bishop of Winchester), *Dr. Payne Smith*, *Urwick*, &c. These concluding chapters were no doubt written in the old age of the prophet; they are supposed by *Möller* not to have been delivered orally, but to have been written when Manasseh was in captivity. With Cheyne the authorship is yet an open question, but the work "is in the fullest sense of the word prophetic."¹

¹ "Prophecies of Isaiah," by T. K. Cheyne, Vol. I. 1880, p. 232.

6. The linguistical character of these chapters has been considered as a ground sufficient to justify the notion of their later origin by *Gesenius*, *De Wette*, *Knobel* and *Davidson*. To them, *Keil* and other critics have replied most satisfactorily. The details are not possible in the limits of this work, as they consist of lists of words supposed to be peculiar, or not to *Isaiah*. We simply give the conclusions of the *Rev. William Urwick*, in his "Dissertations upon the Authorship of chapters xl. and lxvi. of *Isaiah*," prefixed to his work entitled "The Servant of *Jehovah*," a commentary grammatical and critical upon *Isaiah* lii. 13 to liii. 12.¹ "In examining in detail the testimony of the language, we have twenty-eight words and expressions represented as peculiar to the later chapters, and indicating, according to some, a later and different authorship, different from that of chapters i. to xxxix.: of these only two are not found in the earlier portions; all the rest do occur in both portions, though not always in the same form or conjugation; and there is not sufficient warrant for assigning a signification to any in the later portion, different from the natural and usual meaning in the earlier: the peculiarity assigned to any is simply a new meaning suggested by the critics who would argue for the exile date. (2) As to Chaldaisms, we have examined twenty-two examples suggested by the advocates of the late authorship. Of these, not one can fairly be called a clear and unmistakable Chaldee form; they can hardly be called later Hebraisms, because we find the very same words and forms in the earlier books. Our chapters are as free from Chaldaisms or late Hebraisms as any other twenty-six consecutive chapters in the Bible. (3) We have named twenty-two words and

Urwick.

Chal-
daisms.

¹ "The Servant of *Jehovah*," by Rev. W. Urwick, 8vo, 1877.

Unde-
signed
coinci-
dences
between
the earlier
and later
prophecies

phrases common to and distinctive of both the earlier and the later portions, many of them comparatively rare in other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, expressions which we may take to be peculiar to Isaiah the son of Amoz, foremost among which stands the striking phrase, 'the Holy One of Israel,' a title which is a fit echo of the vision of the prophet's call. The natural inference is (apart from all external evidence, and even if the two portions had come down to us in two separate parts) that both came from one writer, or at least, that the later copied from and imitated the earlier. (4) We have traced a striking undesigned coincidence between the two portions in the acquaintance which the writer of both had with trees and with farming pursuits, the cultivation of the soil, peculiarities of climate, tending of domestic animals, gardens and vineyards, as these were known and carried on in Palestine. Many technical expressions and names occur, some common to both portions, of which we have given a list of thirty-eight, some peculiar to each, but all affording subsidiary and cumulative proof of identity of knowledge and circumstances in the writer of both portions." In conclusion *Dr. Urwick* remarks, "Each of the four topics of our inquiry, the external testimony, the *locus standi* of the writer, as witnessed by the prophecy itself, the relation of the prophecy to other Old Testament books, and the testimony of the language—leads us to the conclusion that chapters xl. to lxvi. are, as the Jews believed, and as they placed them, part and parcel of the genuine prophecies of the great Isaiah the son of Amoz."

7. The objection to the genuineness of the last twenty-two chapters of Isaiah, founded on the impossibility of a supernatural foresight into the future, which of course applies to the whole Book of Isaiah, and to all the other

books of the Old Testament Scriptures, has been already considered in paragraph six of the preceding chapter. It is obvious that the Jewish people had very different views of the nature of prophecy, or with what assurance could Isaiah have referred to his prophetic gift in the following passages: chapters xli. 21 to 23, xlii. 9, xlv., xlv. 10, xlviii. 6? Appeals which must have appeared to them most mendacious, if not felt to be true. The *objections founded on internal evidence*, are of a more specious character as presented to the non-Oriental type of thought, which characterises the mind of the Western nations. It is affirmed by some leading critics that, "as witnessed by the prophecy itself," the writer's standing place is in the Babylonish exile; that he writes as one of them either at Babylon or in Egypt; that all the allusions presuppose that Jerusalem is already destroyed, and the Jews already in captivity; that Babylon is in its full power and authority, and Cyrus and his conquests already known. They refer to the following passages as describing the people in captivity, and the cities of Judah laid waste: chapters xlii. 22, 24, xliii. 28, xlv. 26, li. 3, lxiv. 10, 11; but similar descriptions are found in the earlier prophecies of Isaiah, and refer, undoubtedly, to the results of the Assyrian invasion and conquest and desolation of Israel, and of the disastrous effects of the Assyrian invasion of Judah: take, for instance, chapters i. 7, 8, iii. 8, v. 13, vi. 11, 12, x. 20, 21, xi. 12, xxii. 2. If the prophet could so express himself in reference to the calamities which followed the Assyrian and other less important invasions of the enemies of Judah, we need not wonder at the language employed in describing, as if already accomplished, the future desolation of Judah, which would be realised in the Babylonish captivity. The prophet uses an ideal

Internal
evidences.

The ideal
present.

present, more familiar to Orientals than to us, though sometimes used by our poets, in which the future is represented as past and already accomplished ; the use of the preterit to express the future is sanctioned by the peculiarity of the Hebrew language, but our English translators, adhering to the letter, rather than to the meaning, have given a past, instead of the future signification, which was in the mind of the writer. "The most special and remarkable use of this (past) tense is as the prophetic perfect ; its abrupt appearance in this capacity confers upon descriptions of the future a most forcible and expressive touch of reality, and imparts in the most vivid manner a sense of the certainty with which the occurrence of a yet future event is contemplated by the speaker."¹ There can be no mistaking the prophet's real standpoint as distinguished from his ideal, by those who believe the last twenty-seven chapters of the book to be the work of that Isaiah who wrote and prophesied in "the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah" (chapter i. 1), and who are ignorant of the wonderful discovery of Modern Critics of "a great unknown," a pseudo Isaiah, who flourished in the time of the captivity, but of whom the Jewish and the Christian Church knew nothing until the last quarter of the eighteenth century ! The prophet himself points out his own times ; his real present, "he has immersed himself into that future."² That he lived when Jerusalem and the Temple were still standing under the kings of Judah, and while the usual sacrifices were offered, although idolatry was common, appears from the following passages : chapters xl. 2, 9, 19, 20, xli. 7, 27, xliii. 22—24, xliv. 9—17, xlvi. 6, 7, xlviii. 1—

¹ Driver "On the Hebrew Tenses," 12mo, 1874, p. 15.

² Keil, Vol. I. p. 321.

5, li. 17, lvii. 1, 3—7, lviii. 1—3, x3, lix. 3, lxii. 1, lxv. 2—7, 11, 12, lxvi. 3, 6. So also the allusions to Egypt, Ethiopia and Seba, quite unsuitable to the political condition of these countries at the period of the exile, chapters xliii. 3, xlv. 14. It is most natural that the Babylonish captivity should be pointed out as an event certain though future, for already this had been foretold to Hezekiah by the prophet (Isaiah xxxix. 6—8). Micah, Nahum, and Zephaniah, contemporary with Isaiah, use similar language respecting the Babylonish captivity and the restoration. If on this account we reject the latter portion of Isaiah, we must also in the application of this sweeping criticism reject the writings of these prophets. The mention of Cyrus (Koresh, *i.e.*, the sun) is now thought to be a title of dignity, just as Pharaoh was applied to the rulers of Egypt; but even if used as a proper name, by the prophet as by later writers, pointing out the very individual, there is a similar instance given (2 Kings xiii. 2) in which Josiah is spoken of by name as the future destroyer of idolatry; so that there is nothing specially singular in this respect. The supposed differences in style and manner which are disputed, may be explained by the difference between youth and age, between spoken addresses and carefully-written discourses. There is an obvious natural connection between the later and the earlier prophecies, as Bishop Wordsworth has clearly shown in his commentary, who has also pointed out the use of Isaiah's language by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

The style
that of
Isaiah's
old age.

8. Setting aside the hypothetical author, "the great unknown," for whom the authorship of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah is claimed, we have no name except Isaiah the son of Amoz, or any other person indicated in the whole course of Jewish or Christian

Allusions
by con-
temporary
prophets.

literature up to the eighteenth century, with the exception of Aben Ezra in the eleventh century. There is no genuine personal claimant, but simply an ideal one, the creation of a narrow dogmatic assumption, resting on principles of criticism, which, if admitted as true, would be the destruction of all confidence in the veracity of the writers of the Old and New Testaments. On the other hand, we have a series of allusions to these last twenty-seven chapters of the prophecy in the writings of sundry prophets who lived before, or in the early part of the captivity, as for instance the following :—

Isaiah, chap. xlv. 11—20, with	Habbakuk ii. 18, 19.
„ xlv. 23	„	Jeremiah li. 48.
„ xlv. 1, 2	„	Jeremiah li. 30.
„ xlvii. 1—3	„	Jeremiah xlviii. 18, 20, 26.
„ xlvii. 8	„	Zephaniah ii. 15.
„ xlviii. 20, lii. 2	„	Jeremiah l. 2, 8.
„ li. 15	„	Jeremiah xxxi. 35.
„ li. 17	„	Jeremiah xxv. 15—29.
„ liii. 7	„	Nahum i. 15.
„ lvi. 9	„	Jeremiah xii. 9, 14.
„ lvi.—lvii. 9	„	Ezekiel xxxiv.
„ lix. 1, 2	„	Jeremiah v. 25.
„ lix. 9—11	„	Jeremiah xiii. 16.
„ lxvi. 6	„	Jeremiah li. 55, 56.
„ lxvi. 16	„	Jeremiah xxv. 21, 23.
„ lxvi. 19—20	„	Zephaniah iii. 10.

See also—

Isaiah, chap. xl. 19, 20, with Jeremiah x. 3—5, 8, 9.

9. We have, what ought to satisfy us, the fact of our Lord and His apostles having given their testimony to the authorship of these last twenty-seven chapters by Isaiah the prophet, by no less than twenty-six quotations in the Gospels and Epistles, which are pointed out in the marginal references of most editions of the English New Testament. This is sufficient for all who

profess to believe in Christ as a Divine teacher. In reference to our Lord's testimony we must call attention to the remarks in Chapter VI., pp. 159, 160. In the interval between the close of the Canon of the Jewish Church and the first century of the Christian era, we have the testimony of Jesus the son of Sirach (who probably wrote in the third century before Christ), in Ecclesiasticus (chap. xlviii. 20—25), of which we simply give verses 24 and 25 as specially relevant. "He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Zion" (a reference to chapter xl. of Isaiah, the first of the disputed chapters of the later prophecy). "He showed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came." In addition we have that of Josephus,¹ Josephus. who states that it was made known to Cyrus, through the prophecy of Isaiah, that he should rebuild Jerusalem, and that this prophecy was given one hundred and forty years before the Temple was demolished. These references are of use as indicating the views of the literary class among the Jews, apart from the influence of Christianity.

10. The interpretation of the Messianic and other prophecies of Isaiah is no part of our task. That work has been done by *Dr. Payne Smith, J. Pye Smith, Alexander, Urwick*, and many others. We will simply refer, as a fair specimen of the general character of the expositions of the Higher Critics, to their theories respecting "The Servant of Jehovah," chapter xlii. 1, 2, xlix. 1—8, l. 4, lii. 13, to the end of liii., all of which Christians in general apply to our Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah. But these are referred:—

(1) To the people of Israel in their attitude towards

¹ "Antiquities of the Jews," Book XI. chap. ii.

the heathen during their captivity, by *Rosenmüller* and *Hitzig*.

(2) To the youth of the nation as opposed to the incorrigible old, by *Hendewerk*.

(3) To Israel in its prophetic calling, suffering for the Gentiles, and partly to the Messiah, by *Hoffmann*.

(4) To the prophetic class or order, by *Gesenius*, *De Wette*, *Umbreit*.

Of course these views are opposed by *Havernick*, *Delitzsch*, and *Drechsler*, and by all the critics of the orthodox school. Further remarks are unnecessary.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH.

I. The prophet ZECHARIAH, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo, one of the priests who returned with Zerubabel from Babylon (Nehemiah xii. 4), was probably born in Babylon, and began to prophesy when young, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, B.C. 520 ; he was contemporary with Haggai. The first six chapters of his prophecy consist of a series of visions bearing upon the future of the Jewish Church and people. Chapters vii. and viii. refer to the settlement of some important questions two years later. Until the middle of the seventeenth century, the unity and authenticity of the entire book were universally received on the authority of the Jewish Canon. The critical controversy from that period refers to the last six chapters, ix. to xiv., and is remarkable for two peculiarities. *First*, that the critics contend that these chapters are of greater antiquity than the times of Zechariah, whereas the general tendency of the "Higher Criticism" is to throw doubts on the antiquity of the sacred books. *Second*, that the first objection to the genuineness of the last six chapters, as forming no part of Zechariah's prophecy, came from English critics of the orthodox school. *Joseph Mede*, in 1653, was led to apply to Jeremiah the last six chapters, from the fact that in the Gospel of St. Matthew (chapter xvii. 9) the citation from Zechariah xi. 12, 13, is ascribed to the prophet Jeremiah. He thought that these chap-

ters of Jeremiah were found after the captivity, and added by Zechariah to his prophecy. He was followed by *Kidder*, 1700; *Hammond*, 1681; *Whiston*, 1722; and *Newcombe*, 1788. The latter was the first to advocate the theory that the six chapters, ix. to xiv., of Zechariah are the work, not of Zedekiah, but of two distinct prophets. This supposition of two distinct prophets, which *Bunsen* considers "the greatest triumph of Modern Criticism," is an answer to the supposed bigoted, traditional, conservative character of orthodox British critics. In this case, the evidence arising out of the prophet's standpoint, appeared two centuries ago, to this abused class of critics, to imply the earlier date of the last six chapters, and they were not afraid to advocate a theory then very unpopular. It is singular that in the English Bible (King James's translation) the dates affixed to sundry chapters, taken generally from "Ussher's Chronology," lead to the same conclusion. The beginning of the prophecy has B.C. 520, which is the true date of the earlier prophecies appended in the margin, while the date beginning with the ninth chapter is 586 B.C., which is that of the captivity. In Germany, *Flügge*, *Döderlein*, *Michaelis*, *Eichhorn*, *Seiler*, *G. L. Bauer*, *Augusti*, and others advocated this theory, with their own variations. As a specimen:—(1) *Bertholdt*, *Gesenius*, *Maurer*, *Bunsen*, *Forberg*, *Rosenmüller*, *Hitzig*, *Knobel*, *Bleek*, *Ewald*, *Ortenberg*, *Davidson*, *Wellhausen*, *Herzfeld*, *Hupfield*, *Thenius*, *Movers*, and *Schrader*, attributed chapters ix. to xi. to one Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah, whose name occurs in Isaiah, chapter viii. 2. Chapters xii. to xiv. they ascribe to some one living in the time of Uzziah, though *Bunsen* thinks the writer of these chapters was Urijah, the son of Shemaiah, mentioned in Jeremiah xxvi. 20. (2) *Rosenmüller* and *Davidson* place

the writer under King Uzziah. (3) *Hitzig* and *Credner*, from about the age of Ahaz, or earlier. (4) *Knobel* places chapters ix. to xi. under the reign of Jotham and Ahaz. (5) *Newcombe* thought that chapters ix.—xi. were written before the Assyrian captivity, and xi. and xii. soon after Josiah's reign. (6) *Ewald* thinks chapters ix., xi., xiii., vii.—ix., belong to the time of Ahaz. All these, with *Dr. J. Pye Smith* and *Dr. Adam Clarke*, suppose an earlier period than that of the return from exile. There is much in their arguments to justify their views, which have been, and are yet, held by men of learning, ability, and piety. Differences of opinion on critical points are not inconsistent with strict orthodoxy of faith in the great truths of revealed religion. By the writer of the article Zechariah in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," and by the writer of the introduction to this prophet in the "Speaker's Commentary," the conclusion arrived at is, that "it is not easy to say which way the weight of evidence preponderates." It is, however, a singular fact that some of the German critics, as *Eichhorn*, *Paulus*, *Corrodi*, *Gramberg*, *Stähelin*, *Geiger*, *Böttcher*, and *Vatke*, in direct opposition to the theories of their learned brethren, who contend for a much earlier period than that of the exile, go to the other extreme, and ascribe these later prophecies to the period of Alexander's conquests. *Corrodi* thought that chapter xiv. was written so late as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees.

2. To exhibit more clearly the views of the critics of the present century in reference to the dates assigned to the disputed chapters, Zechariah ix. to xiv., we give Dr. Pusey's table, with which he has enriched his introduction to Zechariah in his "Minor Prophets."¹ The

¹ "Minor Prophets," 4to, pp. 511, 512.

regular order of the chapters is followed as far as possible for convenience of reference.

Chapters IX. to XIV.

(a) At the earliest, in the first half and middle of the fifth century B.C., by Vatke.

(b) "The younger poet, whose visions were added to those of Zechariah," by Geiger.

(c) Last years of Darius Hystaspes, or first of Xerxes, by Gramberg.

(d) After the battle of Issus, 333 B.C. Eichhorn.

(e) After 303 B.C. Bottcher.

(f) Uzziah, 772 B.C. Hitzig, Rosenmüller.

Chapter IX.

(a) To Hyrcanus the First, as Messiah. Paulus.

(b) To the time of Alexander the Great. Corrodi.

(c) Perhaps the time of Zephaniah. Gesenius.

(d) Uzziah. Bleek, Forberg.

(e) Between the carrying away of the two tribes and a half and the fall of Damascus. Maurer.

(f) Under Uzziah and Jeroboam. Ortenberg.

(g) After the capture of Damascus by Tiglath Pileser. Movers.

Chapters IX. to XI.

(a) Under Ahaz, during the war with Pekah. Bertholdt.

(b) Beginning of Ahaz. Credner.

(c) Latter time of Hezekiah. Bauer.

(d) Between the invasion of Pul and Tiglath Pileser's conquest of Damascus, B.C. 771—740. Knobel.

(e) "Very probably Uzziah's favourite prophet in his prosperous days." Dean Stanley.

(f) Contemporary with Isaiah under Ahaz. Bunsen.

Chapters IX. to XI., and XIII. 7 to 9. The first ten years of Pekah. Ewald.

Chapters IX. and X.

(a) Perhaps contemporary with Zephaniah, in the time of Josiah. De Wette.

(b) Not before Jeroboam, nor before Uzziah's accession, but before the death of Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam. Hitzig.

Chapter X.

(a) Ahaz, soon after the war with Pekah and Rezin. Bleek.

(b) Soon after the death of Hosea, and before Pekah's accession, B.C. 739—731. Maurer.

(c) The anarchy after the death of Jeroboam the Second, B.C. 784—772. Ortenberg.

Chapter XI.

(a) Might be in the time of Ahaz. De Wette.

(b) In the reign of Hosea. Maurer.

(c) Possibly contemporary with Hosea. Bauer.

(d) Beginning of the reign of Menahem. Hitzig.

Chapter XI., verses 1 to 3.

(a) Invasion of some Assyrian king. Bleek.

(b) B.C. 716. Ortenberg.

Chapter XII., verses 4 to 17. Menahem and end of Uzziah, Maurer

Chapter XI., verses 4 to 17, XIII., verses 7 to 9. Shortly after the war of Pekah and Rezin. Ortenberg.

Chapters XII. to XIV.

(a) Manasseh, in view of a siege by Esarhaddon. Hitzig.

(b) Between B.C. 607—604, not fulfilled. Knobel.

(c) Soon after Josiah's death, by Uriah, Jeremiah's contemporary, B.C. 607 or 606. Bunsen.

(d) Most probably while the Chaldees were already before Jerusalem, shortly before 599 B.C. Schrader.

Chapters XII. to XIII. verse 6.

(a) Under Joiakim or Jeconiah, or Zedekiah, in Nebuchadnezzar's last expedition, not fulfilled. Bertholdt.

(b) The last years of Jehoiakim, or under Jehoiachin, or Zedekiah. Bleek.

(c) Fourth year of Jehoiakim. Maurer.

(d) The latter half of 600 B.C. Ortenberg.

(e) Shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. Ewald.

Chapters XII., XIII. verse 6, XIV.

(a) Zedekiah, beginning of the revolt. Stanley.

(b) After the death of Josiah. Kahnis.

Chapter XIII., 7th verse to the end.

(a) Probably under Josiah or Jehoiachin. Bleek.

(b) Soon after Josiah's death. Bertholdt.

(c) Fifth year of Jehoiakim. Maurer.

Chapters XII., XIII. 6th verse to the end. Prophecies of fanatical contents, which defy all historical interpretation, but must rather be conceived as future than past. De Wette, Bertholdt.

Chapter XIV. Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, Corrodi and others.

3. The following German critics contend for the genuineness of chapters ix. to xiv., as part of the

original prophecy of Zechariah: Carpzovius, Jahn, Koster, Hengstenberg, Binger, De Wette (last edition), A. Theiner, Herbst, Umbreit, Havernick, Keil, Stähelin, Von Hoffman, Ebrard, Schegg, Baumgarten, Neumann, Klieforth, Köhler, and Sandrock. Among the English critics who adopt the same conclusion are Blaney, Henderson, Wordsworth, Pusey, and others. Looking at the various and discordant opinions of the critics, Dr. Pusey remarks, with great reason, on the boasted unity of the results of this "Modern Criticism" (claimed in the "Essays and Reviews," by Professor Jowett), that in this assertion the Professor "must have been thinking of the agreement of its negations." And in addition observes, that "there must be some mistake either in the tests applied, or in their application, which admits of a variation of at least 450 years, from some time in the reign of Uzziah, say 770 B.C., to later than 330 B.C.;" a period equal to that which intervenes between the reign of Henry the Fifth and Queen Victoria. The Rev. C. H. H. Wright, in his exhaustive work entitled "Zechariah and his Prophecies," remarks: "Just as able scholars are to be found in the ranks of the defenders, as in those of the opposers of the traditional view; and the reckless taunts thrown out by some, as to the lack of scholarship on the part of the defenders of the genuineness of the book, are as unfounded as they are ungenerous. Indeed, one cannot help remarking that in such disputes a disposition quietly to bow to the authority of those 'held in reputation,' is as remarkable a characteristic of the 'rank and file' of the followers of the school which opposes the traditional view, as of those on the conservative side."¹

¹ "Zechariah and his Prophecies." Bampton Lecture for 1878, 8vo, 1879, pp. 27, 28.

4. The philological argument on the likeness or dissimilarity of language, as a test of identity of authorship, or the contrary, and to which so much deference has been paid, is now admitted to be worthless, except negatively. It may afford a reasonable ground for doubt, but of itself can determine nothing. Tables of words exhibiting in full detail lists of those used, or not used, by this or that author make a show, and carry with them the impression of a profound study, which is really nothing but a careful manipulation of one or other of the grand Hebrew concordances ; they prove little ; the use of like and unlike words, will of necessity depend upon the subjects treated ; the application of this fancied critical test has been found wanting when applied to well-known English writers.¹ With respect to the last six chapters of Zechariah, there seems to be no difference in style between them and the preceding chapters. Pressel, an opponent of the genuineness of these chapters, remarks, that the man who professes to see a contrast in that respect between the two portions of this prophet, "must have an ear fine enough to hear the grass when it grows." The fact, that in Zechariah there are not only allusions to the earlier prophets, but also to the later prophets, Ezekiel and Jeremiah, seemed so convincing to *De Wette* that, after having in the first three editions of his "Introduction" denied the oneness of the prophecy, he found himself compelled to admit that the latter chapters must also belong to the age of Zechariah. This recantation of *De Wette's* is a fact which must tend to counteract the influence of much of the adverse criticism of his class of critics. No one can compare chapters ix. 2 of Zechariah with Ezekiel xxviii.

¹ Stanley Leathe's "Witness of the Old Testament to Christ," 8vo, pp. 282, 283.

3, without noticing the allusions. So also ix. 3 with 1 Kings xvii. 27, or x. 3 with Ezekiel xxxiv. 17—24, or xiii. 8, 9 with Ezekiel v. 12, or xiv. 8 with Ezekiel xlvii. 1—12, or verses 10 and 11 of chapter xiv. with Jeremiah xxxi. 38—40, or verses 20 and 21 of chapter xiv. with Ezekiel xliii. 12 and xlv. 9. It is difficult to account for these on the supposition of an earlier date than that usually assigned.

5. While firmly believing in the unity of the Book of Zechariah's prophecy, it must, however, be admitted that there are references and allusions sufficient to justify doubt, as to the date commonly assigned to the last six chapters, and to call forth inquiry and discussion. Two especially: (1) The fact of Matthew's allusion to the passage Zechariah xi. 12, in chapter xxxii. 8—10, as if from Jeremiah the prophet. We think that *Scrivener* and *Bishop Lightfoot* account for this apparent discrepancy by a reference to the fact that, according to the Talmud, Jeremiah's prophecy was placed first in the order of the prophetic books, and thus gave its name to the whole body of the prophetical writings. This is in accordance with the ordinary mode of reference to quotations from the Sacred Books by the Jews, which was to the technical name of the section, rather than to the particular book from which the quotations were taken. Thus the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, chapter iv. 7, quotes Psalm xcv. 7, as "in David," referring to the general title of the collection of Psalms, and not to David as the author of that Psalm which was evidently written long after the time of the sweet singer of Israel, though before the captivity. If the reading in Matthew be incorrect, from an error of a transcriber, it must have been committed very early, as all the more ancient MSS. contain it, except two of the

old Italic version (before Jerome's Vulgate). It is remarkable that Matthew, though he quotes from Zechariah twice in other places, and from Micah once, does not mention the name of the prophet. (2) The second objection is taken from the prophet's apparent standpoint in the last six chapters; he speaks as if the old empires of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, and the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, Philistia, &c., &c., were yet in all their glory as before the Persian conquests. *Stähelin* remarks in reply, that even under the Persian government the political relations of the Jewish people continued much the same as before. The old political estrangement and prejudices between them and their neighbours remained, though the actual warfare in the field was prevented by the Persian rule. All these subject provinces of Persia were ready to assert their independence, and occasionally by so doing provoked the punishment which the prophet foretold in respect of Damascus, Phœnicia, Philistia, &c. He tries to tranquillise the people, and encourage them to remain faithful to the Persian supremacy, holding out the promised union of Israel and Judah in the times of the Messiah. The moral condition of Jerusalem had also deteriorated; there was a falling off in the zeal for the rebuilding of the Temple; the old vices had reappeared in full vigour, covetousness, oppression of the poor, and every form of selfishness; hence much of the language employed by the prophet is applicable to a time long past, as well as to the time in which he lived. The last six chapters are probably the production of the prophet's old age, in which, like his predecessor, Isaiah, he takes a wider range, and sets forth the future destinies of the Church, for the comfort and instruction of believers in all ages. It must be admitted that these prophecies,

both the earlier and the later, are the most difficult to understand of all the prophetical writings. Centuries hence, the course of events may help to a right interpretation of them. The Messianic prophecies cannot be misunderstood as to their general bearing. Dr. Pusey's "Commentary on the Minor Prophets," 4to, and the Bampton Lecture, "Zechariah and his Prophecies," by the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, are the most recent contributions towards a right understanding of this, the most important of the minor prophets. We may also notice, as remarkably full and comprehensive, the Commentary of Dr. J. W. Chambers, in Lange's "Commentary," edited by Schaff, royal 8vo; also McCaul's translation of David Kimchi's "Commentary on Zechariah," which is an instructive specimen of the ultra antichristian class of Jewish interpreters.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I. We now come to the Book of the Prophet Daniel, which furnishes the occasion for the last and not the least important of the great battle fields of the "Higher Criticism" bearing upon the Old Testament. Daniel occupies a singularly peculiar and marked position, in all respects differing from the other prophets of the Old Testament dispensation. A noble youth of the family of King Zedekiah, distinguished for his piety and intellectual power, is taken away a captive to Babylon, rises from the position of a slave to that of a statesman, endures persecution, and is a confessor for the truth; exercises no small influence over his Babylonian, Median, and Persian sovereigns, for the benefit of the Israelitish race, especially in reference to the permission to return to the land of their fathers, and in the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of the Temple; he is also honoured as the medium of communicating to mankind, the most important and comprehensive series of prophecies, extending through the future history of the human race, to the consummation of all things. His position is one of sympathy for Israel, but independent, identifying himself more particularly with the course of "the world powers," present and future, in their relation to the Church of the coming Messiah. In his recorded prophecies we first find the germ of the philosophy of universal history

Daniel's
peculiarly
grand
position.

as the manifestation of a Divine plan and purpose, gradually unfolding, and amid all the changes of dynasties and powers, training the human race for the advent of King Messiah, and for the teachings and spiritual influences of the Christian dispensation. To him was revealed more clearly than to preceding prophets, that progress was the law of our redeemed race, and that all the great changes and revolutions, however apparently adverse at the time to the interests of humanity, would culminate in the triumph of righteousness, and in the rule of sanctified intellect. The prophecies of Daniel are God's protest against the pseudo-philosophical pessimism of our diseased antichristian civilisation. The prophet Daniel, the *man greatly beloved* (chapter x. 11), stands, as Baumgarten remarks, as "the official seer of Jehovah in the world kingdom," pointing towards the grand result, "the kingdom of God." In the discharge of his office, his prophecies are at once so comprehensive as to take in the whole range of human history, and yet some of them are so minute and exact in their details, as to provoke attacks upon their genuineness, from the time of Porphyry in the third century to our day.

Critical
hypo-
thesis.

2. The Book of Daniel is written partly in Chaldee, chapter ii. from verse 4 (latter half) to the end of chapter vii. ; the language is said to be older than the Chaldee of Ezra. The Hebrew resembles the Hebrew of the contemporary writers, with such modifications as might be looked for in one brought up from his youth in Babylon. The Greek words, which have been supposed to indicate a later age, were received, no doubt, through the Greek population in Asia Minor, with which there was at that time an increasing intercourse ; one instance of this is, that the Greek poet Alcæus had a brother who served

in the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar. The unity of the book, tersely and ably vindicated by Dr. S. Davidson,¹ is now generally admitted, with some few exceptions ; as, for instance—(1) Spinoza, and after him Hobbes, Sir Isaac Newton, and Beausobre, regard chaps. i. to vii. as not written by Daniel, but by some other prophet. (2) Eichhorn imagines one writer of chaps. i., ii. verses 4 to the end, and of chaps. vii. to xii. ; the other, being the author of chap. ii. verse 4 to chap. vi. 29. (3) Bertholdt and Augusti fancy they can recognise nine writers ! (4) Michaelis thinks that chaps. iii. to vi. are of later date. (5) Sack, Herbet, Speil, and others advocate a twofold authorship. (6) Zoëkler regards chaps. x. to xii. as largely interpolated by a writer of the Maccabean age. Hitzig, De Wette, Gesenius, as well as Bleek, with all the olden critics, admit the unity of the book. Some think that Daniel also wrote 2 Chron. xxxvi. from verse 8 to the end, and also the first chapter of Ezra, which fills up a gap between chaps. ix. and x. of Daniel's book ; but these are simply guesses without authority or evidence, though not improbable. Whether the book, in its present arrangement, be the work of Daniel, or whether he simply preserved the records, state papers, and his own memoranda, which were edited by Ezra or some other authorised person, is a point of little importance.

3. The first attack on the genuineness and authenticity of Daniel was made by the learned Porphyry, towards the conclusion of the third century of our era, in the twelfth of his fifteen "Treatises against Christians." A full and detailed account of his objections may be found in the Seventh Volume of Lardner's Works.² In ability and fulness of statement and acuteness he is not

¹ " Introduction to the Old Testament," Vol. III. p. 162.

² 8vo edition.

surpassed by the learned who have since followed in his wake ; his strongest objection is to the particularity of the details in chapter xi., which refers to the history of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ in their relation to the Jewish people, and which being so clear and exact must, according to his views, have been written after the event ; he supposed the writer to have lived soon after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes : hence, the prophecies of the four kingdoms, which are generally interpreted as referring to Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, he would close with Alexander's successors. "The argument of Porphyry is an exact anticipation of the position of many modern critics. It involves this twofold assumption : first, that the whole book ought to contain predictions of the same character ; and secondly, that definite predictions are impossible. Externally the book is as well attested as any book of Scripture, and there is nothing to show that Porphyry urged any historical objections against it ; but it brings the belief in miracle and prediction, in the Divine person and foreknowledge, as active among men, to a startling test ; and according to the character of this belief in the individual must be his judgment upon the book."¹ The Neo-Platonic philosopher is paraded in our day as unanswerable. "When the objections of Porphyry have since been from time to time started afresh, the reply has often been that they are merely Porphyry's old objections re-appearing. On this rejoinder it was once remarked by a venerable scholar and divine of our day, 'they have always reappeared, because they have never been answered.' This is substantially true."² It is surprising that a man of Dean Stanley's penetration could not see

Dean
Stanley.

¹ Westcott-Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," Vol. I. p. 393.

² Stanley's "Jewish Church," Vol. III. p. 69.

that on Porphyry's assumed principles, applied to the question of the authenticity of the whole revelation of God in the Old and New Testaments, we could not answer any objections. If a Divine foreknowledge and a revelation of the Divine plan to man is admitted as impossible, then, not only the Book of Daniel, but the whole Bible must be given up. This was clearly seen by scholars and divines up to the seventeenth century, and hence Porphyry's objections *with them* had no weight; and in our day they can have no weight with those who believe in the fact of miracle and prophecy. Uriel Acosta (a Jewish atheist), Collins and the English deists, with the learned Germans, Semler, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Lengerke, Maurer, Gesenius, Stähelin, Nöldeke, Hilgenfeld, Rosenmüller, Knobel, Lucke, and Baron Bunsen, also adopted what they regarded as "a natural result of historical criticism." Corrodi opposed the genuineness of the whole book: Hitzig declared its contents "irrational and impossible." The great stumbling-block to Hitzig and his class of sceptical critics, is the record of miraculous interpositions in the Book of Daniel. To those who believe in the greatest and yet most natural of miracles, a Divine revelation, nothing appears more reasonable than the three special miracles recorded in Daniel. If ever any Divine interposition might be hoped for and expected, it was at that time when the calamities of the Jewish Church had culminated in the fall of the monarchy, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, and the carrying away of the population to Babylon. To many it then appeared as if the covenant God of their father Abraham had cast off His people, and given them up to the control of the heathen. These special manifestations of the power of Jehovah in defence of the faithful among His servants,

Miracles.

and as vindicating against idolatry the doctrine of the Divine Unity, must have been a comfort and support to the Jewish captives, as well as admonitory to the heathen. The immediate influence of these miraculous revelations of the future, and of the supernatural deliverances accorded to the prophet and his friends, was manifested in the favour shown by the Babylonian and Persian monarchs to the Jewish captives. Apart from Daniel's agency, and the position which he occupied, the favour shown to the Jewish nation by their powerful conquerors is altogether unaccountable. However "irrational" to the sceptic, the miracles recorded are to all believers proofs of the wisdom, as well as of the goodness of God. In England Dr. Davidson, Dr. Arnold, Dr. Milman and Dean Stanley are the principal writers who follow Porphyry. On the other side, among the Germans who advocate the old orthodox opinion are to be found Lüdewald, Staüdlein, Jahn, Lask, Stendel, Hengstenberg, Havernick, Dereser, Pereau, Sack, Herbst, Scholz, Delitzsch, Klieforth, Zündel, Beckhans, Volk, Auberlen, Hug, Speil, Kranichfeld, and Keil; among the English the vast majority of the critics and divines, as for instance, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, Dr. Pusey, Tregelles, Bishop Horsley, Birks, Elliott, Stuart, Rule, Fuller, &c. So far as mere critical logomachy is concerned, the defenders of the authenticity of Daniel's prophecies are able on purely critical grounds to hold their own.

Daniel's
place in
the Canon.

4. The place in which the Book of Daniel is found in the Jewish Canon, has been employed as an argument against its acceptance by the Jewish Church, as equal in authority to the other prophets, who are placed in the second division, which comprises the historical books from Joshua to 2 Kings, and the prophetic writings;

while Daniel is placed among the *Ketubim* (the writings), called also the sacred writings (*Hagiographa*). Davidson remarks: "It is not among the prophets, but in the *Hagiographa*, and there too as one of the last books. The second division of the canonical Scriptures was not made till the time of Ezra, at least. If, therefore, the book had been written in the time of the exile by Daniel, why was it not put there with the other prophets? The answer is, that it did not then exist." And again: "One division of the Jewish writings consists of the prophets. Why is Malachi in that division, and Daniel not?"¹ There is another answer, far more satisfactory than that given by Davidson to the first question. The fact of a threefold division of the books is undeniable, and also that the division took place soon after the settlement of the Canon; but the precise contents of the two last divisions appear to have varied at different times. "No two are alike. Even the Masorites and the Talmudists differ from each other. Jerome differs from both, and Origen from him; and so if we compare Melito, the Laodicean Council, the Apostolic Canons, Cyrill, Gregory, Nazianzen, Athanasius, Hilary, Epiphanius, the Council of Hippo, Jerome, Rufinus, &c., scarcely any two of them are alike throughout. And this is almost the case even with MSS. and editions in later times. . . . Josephus's arrangement necessarily includes Daniel among the prophets. Of course, when this is settled, it follows with almost absolute certainty that the son of Sirach, Philo, and the New Testament writers do the same, inasmuch as they classify the Sacred Books in the same manner as he

¹ Davidson's "Introduction to the Jewish Church," Vol. III. p. Old Testament," Vol. III. pp. 169, 71, &c.
170. Dean Stanley's "History of

does. We know for certainty this fact in respect to the Book of Daniel, as it concerns the later writers, for we have their lists, both of the names and the order of all the books."¹ Too much importance seems to be placed by the critics on this point, whether rationalistic or not. The arrangement of the books was probably a mere matter of convenience with reference to the public reading in the Synagogue. In the Septuagint, Daniel follows Ezekiel, as in the English version. No intention of disrespect or charge of inferiority could attach to Daniel in assigning his prophecies a place among the Psalms in the Hagiographa, in which he stands among other writings relating to the captivity. It has been supposed by *Hengstenberg* that though Daniel had the gift of prophecy, yet he never held the office of prophet in Israel or Judah, and was therefore not placed among the prophets in the arrangement of the Sacred Books.² These remarks from Stuart and Hengstenberg may explain why, in one particular Talmudical list, Malachi is in the one division, and Daniel not.

References to
Daniel in
the Old
Testament and
Apocrypha

5. The references to Daniel in the Old Testament are important. (a) The prophet *Ezekiel* (chap. xiv. 20): "*Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, they shall deliver neither son, nor daughter; they shall but deliver their own souls by their righteousness.*" This was written in the sixth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, about 594 B.C., twelve years after Daniel had come to Babylon, when Daniel had already for several years acquired the reputation and position which made him to be regarded with peculiar affection by the Jewish exiles, to which Ezekiel belonged. "Ezekiel is the first witness to the Book of Daniel. No other explanation can be given of Ezekiel's

¹ Moses Stuart's "Old Testament Canon," pp. 258—263.

² "Authenticity of Daniel," &c., 8vo (Clark's Trans.).

words. Ezekiel manifestly refers to one, as well known to those to whom he spoke, as the great Patriarchs Noah and Job."¹ The second mention of Daniel by Ezekiel is in chapter xxviii. 3, when, addressing the "Prince of Tyrus," he ironically remarks, "*Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee.*" This was written about five years later, when Daniel's character for wisdom had become generally known. (b) *Nehemiah's* prayer, chap. ix. 6—17, apparently refers to Daniel, chap. ix. 4, 14. (c) The prophecy of *Zechariah* in two of his visions, chaps. i. 12, 18—21, vi. 1—3, presupposes a knowledge of Daniel's vision of the four world monarchies.

6. The remains of Jewish literature found in the Apocrypha furnish also some confirmation of the decision of the Canon. Upon these writings the Book of Daniel exercised a perceptible influence, but it is distinguished from them by its freedom "from the errors and anachronisms, the religious ceremonial, and moral development which mark the apocryphal literature of the Book of Esdras, the additions to Daniel, Tobit, the Sibylline books, and the like."² But none of these apocryphal writings say anything of a personal Messiah, from which we may infer the non-existence of a pseudo-Daniel in the days of the Maccabees. In the Book of Baruch, supposed by Ewald to have been written during the Persian period, there are references to the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and Daniel. The Book of Jesus, the son of Sirach, which is of the third century before our era, makes no mention of Daniel, but is indirectly a strong proof of the conviction that Daniel's prophecy must have possessed undeniable claims, as one of the

¹ Pusey's "Daniel the Prophet," p. 108.

² "Speaker's Commentary," Vol. VI. p. 212.

recognised oracles of God, and for this reason had been included in the Sacred Writings; for if the Canon had been formed so late as the time of the Maccabees, and so carelessly, as to admit a book hitherto unknown, ascribed to Daniel; how is it that such a book as that of the son of Sirach was not included? Men do not canonise their contemporaries, and if the Jews at Jerusalem had placed the work of a pseudo-Daniel among the Sacred Writings, would the Jews of Babylon and of the Dispersion have received it as canonical? To believe this, is harder than to accept the decision of the Jewish and Christian Churches. The first Book of Maccabees expressly indicates that there was no prophet at that time (1 Maccabees iv. 44—46, ix. 27, xiv. 41). The third Book of the Sibylline Oracles, written by a Jew of the Maccabean age, quotes the prophecy of the ten horns (Daniel vii.), and refers to Isaiah and Zechariah. The first Book of Maccabees, written about 100 to 120 years B.C., originally in Hebrew, records an address, the dying words of old Mattathias to his sons (167 B.C.), in which reference is made to the faithfulness of the three Jewish Confessors and of Daniel (chapter ii. 59, 60), and (in chapter i. 54) to the remarkable phrase, “the abomination of desolation” (Daniel xi. 31). “Two points have been observed in that speech of Mattathias, as bearing on the Book of Daniel: (1) His mention of Daniel’s companions and of Daniel, in the same simple way in which he had named other Scripture examples before them,—Abraham, Joseph, Phineas, Joshua, Caleb, David, Elias, and that in the order in which their deliverances are related in the book, Daniel’s companions being named before himself. Their histories, too, are touched on in a single word, as recorded in Daniel: ‘Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by *believing* were saved out of the flames

(Daniel iii. 17, 18, 28); Daniel, "for his *innocency*, was delivered from the mouth of lions (Daniel vi. 22).' (2) His acknowledgment that a time of destruction was come, such as Daniel had foretold (chaps. viii. 19, xi. 35); and his absolute certainty as to the issue, such as the knowledge of the prophecies of Daniel would justify."¹ As one of the apocryphal writings, we may regard the version of Daniel, which was made for the Septuagint Greek scriptures of the Old Testament; among other instances of incorrect renderings and glosses, it so alters the original prophecy of the Seventy Weeks as to make it suit the times of Antiochus Epiphanes; while the original Daniel, in Hebrew and Chaldee, is an encouragement to the Jews to persevere in a time of trial, the Greek copy, made probably in the Syrian period, stimulates to political revolution. It contains additions which were never known in any but the Greek language, and, therefore, certainly much later than the time of Daniel. In the place of this incorrect translation, the version of Theodotian was substituted. The Book of Enoch, which is supposed to be quoted by the Apostle Jude, was written, according to Ewald, between 144 B.C. to 50 B.C., but contains fragments of an earlier date, as well as interpolations of a later date. Westcott thinks that this book "may be regarded as describing an important phase of Jewish opinion in the generation shortly before the coming of Christ."² It is evident enough that the writer was familiar with the language of Daniel.

7. There is no mention of Daniel in Ezra, Nehemiah, Zechariah, or Haggai, nor in the catalogue given by the son of Sirach (xlix. 8—10);³ neither is there of many

¹ Pusey's "Daniel," pp. 323, 370.

² Westcott in "Dictionary of the Bible," Vol. I. p. 557.

³ Stanley's "Hist. of the Jews," Vol. III. p. 71. Davidson's "Int. to the Old Test.," Vol. III. p. 171.

Our
Lord's
reference
to Daniel.

great names which stand foremost in Jewish history. There are, however, what appear to some critics, obvious references in Nehemiah and Zechariah, which we have noticed in paragraph 5. With respect to the son of Sirach, the passage xvii. 17 seems to allude to Daniel x. 13—21, but more probably to the Septuagint rendering of Deuteronomy xxxii. 8. The omission of Daniel's name in the list of worthies in Ecclesiastes xlix. cannot be accounted for any more than the omission of Ezra, the scribe, the expounder of the law, and one of the second founders of the Jewish ecclesiastical polity. There are, however, two references in the Gospel of *Matthew* and *Luke*, in which the GREAT TEACHER, our Lord, gives *His* testimony to the pophecies of Daniel.

When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand) : *Matthew* xxiv. 15 and *Mark* xiii. 14, clearly pointing to the passage in *Daniel* xi. 31. To *Dean Stanley*, "The force of this reference is weakened by the omission of the name in the Syriac version of *Matthew* xxiv. 15, and by its entire absence from the best MSS. of *Mark* xiii. 14, and in all the MSS. of *Luke* xxi. 24. And under any circumstances, it could only prove what is not doubted, that at the time of the Christian era the book had been received into the Canon—in Palestine without the Greek additions, at Alexandria with them."¹ To these objections it has been replied that the phrase is found in the Syriac version of *Matthew* xxiv. 15; and though there may be an omission in *Mark* xiii. 14, yet both passages contain the impressive words, "*Whoso readeth, let him understand,*" which gives our Lord's testimony to the book itself. In *Luke* xxi. 24 the passage never existed, and its absence

¹ *Stanley's "Jewish Church,"* Vol. III. p. 73, Ed. 1876.

from our text is the consequence. The fact that there was a Greek translation of Daniel in the days of our Lord has nothing to do with the point in dispute, which is, whether or not Daniel is a true prophet: this question had been decided by the language used by our Lord, Matthew xxiv. 15, "The words have but one plain meaning and one plain reference. As spoken by Christ, they invest with dignity and inspiration the author *He* is quoting. This can be maintained, without for a moment excluding the legitimate use of intelligent and scientific criticism. Christ has said nothing which shall bind us to believe that Daniel reduced the book to its present form; but He has said that which forbids us to believe its author (to have been) a Maccabean scribe or an Egyptian enthusiast." ¹

8. There is a fact recorded by Josephus alone, which, as it bears directly upon the genuineness of Daniel's prophecies, is regarded with suspicion by most Modern Critics as a mere popular tradition, but even as such it proves the general opinion of the reality of Daniel's prophecies, recognised as such, from the time of the return from captivity. In the "Antiquities," Josephus² relates the visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem, after the battle of Issus, and that he was met by Jaddua, the high priest, who showed to him Daniel's prophecy of the conquest of Persia by the Greeks. It is possible, and even probable, that the narrative in Josephus is correct. Jerusalem was a strategic position not to be neglected by Alexander, though somewhat out of the usual direct route to Egypt. It was deemed of importance by the rival kings of Egypt and Assyria in their later wars, and the high priest had refused to assist, by supplies, the

Alexander
the Great
and Jaddua
the High
Priest.

¹ "Speaker's Commentary," Vol. VI., Int. by Fuller, p. 221.

² "Antiquities," Book XI. chap. viii. sec. 5.

enemy of the King of Persia when besieging Tyre. It is very natural that Alexander, who had just made such a terrible example of the Governor of Gaza, should propose to punish the high priest for his fidelity to his proper sovereign ; and it was equally natural and probable that the rapid conquests of Alexander should open the eyes of the high priest to the meaning of Daniel's prophecy (chap. viii. 6, 7, 21), and that he should endeavour to conciliate the conqueror by a reference to the prophecy : it is also quite consistent with the character of Alexander and his susceptibility to spiritual impressions, as recorded by historians, that the prophecy would be reverentially believed. The facts that Alexander favoured the Jews, that he enlisted many of them into his army, restored to them privileges of which they had been long deprived, and allotted to them a valuable and large quarter in his new city of Alexandria, are accounted for, if Josephus' statement be true. Westcott, Derenburg, Palmer, De Wette and Schrader, think that the main fact is true, though it may have been embellished by the fancy of the historian. Others, as Ewald, Bleek, Reuss, reject the narrative : yet, if not true, there were in Josephus' time histories of Alexander, now lost, from which it would have been proved by the enemies of the Jews to be a falsehood. But whether we receive it as true or not, the testimony of Josephus to Daniel is decisive ; he does not confound his prophecies with apocryphal Maccabean writings, of which he appears to have known nothing, but challenges admiration for the prophet. "Let those who read Daniel's prophecies marvel at one so highly honoured. He is one of the greatest of the prophets. Kings and nations combined to pay him honour while living ; and though dead his memory shall never perish." We may conclude the list

of historical and other evidences, which bear upon this subject, by a quotation from Dr. Pusey, characteristic of his reverential piety, and of his thorough deference and submission to "the authority which stands alone:" his words are, "I cannot, as some religious and eminent defenders of Daniel have done, add to these human evidences the testimony of our Lord, or use Divine authority as a makeweight to human proof. There we are altogether on different grounds, in a different atmosphere. What I have proposed to myself in this course of lectures, is to meet a boastful criticism upon its own grounds, and to show its failures where it claims to be most triumphant. The authority of our Lord stands alone. It is the word of Him Who, being God, spake with a Divine knowledge, perfect, infallible!"¹

9. The objections impugning the genuineness and authenticity of the Book of Daniel, which are found in the writings of the late Baron Bunsen, Dr. Arnold and Dean Milman, and of Dean Stanley (who happily survives), have a claim to special and separate notice from the high literary position and the personal worth of these gentlemen. We omit Dr. S. Davidson, as his late writings throw no new light or darkness on the controversy; the best reply to Dr. Davidson in 1863 to 1880, is to be found in Dr. Davidson in 1839, 1843, 1854, and 1856; certainly in his case "the old wine is better than the new." (1) *Baron Bunsen* has adopted and modified the theory of Ewald that the real Daniel lived at the court of the Assyrian king in Nineveh, about 700 B.C.; that a Jew of the time of Alexander the Great invented the prophecies of the "four world kingdoms," and attributed them to Daniel, while another Jew of the era of the Maccabees added the rest. Bunsen

Bunsen.

¹ Pusey's "Daniel," p. 394.

Dr.
Arnold.

thinks that this supposed Daniel at Nineveh, who lived under Pul and Sargon, about 750 B.C., left behind him figurative prophecies concerning the destruction of Asshur (the winged lion) by the Babylonian empire (the devouring bear) ; that these prophecies, together with the legends of Daniel's life, were placed by a writer of the Maccabean period in their present form.¹ Of these theories there are no facts in proof, and all testimony is to the contrary. (2) *Dr. Arnold's* preconceived notions of the nature of prophecy, made his opinion of the genuineness of Daniel a mere record of a foregone conclusion. In his letter to Tucker,² we have his views clearly expressed : " I think that with the exception of those prophecies which relate to our Lord, the object of prophecy is rather to delineate principles and states of opinion which shall come than external events. I grant that Daniel seems to furnish an exception." Again in his letter to Sir Thomas Pasley : " I am very glad, indeed, that you like my Prophecy Sermons ; the points in particular on which I do not wish to enter, if I could help it, but which very likely I shall be forced to touch on, relate to the latter chapters of Daniel, which, if genuine, would be a clear exception to my canon of interpretation, as there can be no reasonable spiritual meaning made out of the kings of the north and south. But I have long thought that the greater part of the Book of Daniel is most certainly a very late work of the time of the Maccabees, and the pretended prophecy about the kings of Grecia and Persia, and of the north and south, is mere history like the poetical prophecies in Virgil and elsewhere." (3) *Dean Milman*³ more

Dean
Milman.

¹ Bunsen's " God in History."

² " History of the Jews," Vol. I.

³ Dr. Arnold's " Life," 8vo, pp. p. 413.

guardedly expresses similar views : " That the early part (of the Book of Daniel) contains the traditions of the captivity and the life and times of Daniel seems probable ; but the prophecies down to Antiochus read so singularly like a transcript of the history, and are in this respect so altogether unlike any other in either Testament, that they might almost be used, so plain are they and distinct and unvisionary, as historical documents."

(4) *Dean Stanley*, in his " Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church,"¹ fairly states the argument for and against the genuineness of the Book of Daniel, all of which we have already noticed ; his crowning objection is " the matter-of-fact descriptions of the leagues and conflicts between the Græco-Syrian and Græco-Egyptian kings, and of the reign of Antiochus IV., in Daniel xi. 45." He sums up the result, which is that

" the arguments incline largely to the later date." To these remarks it is not difficult to reply. Admitting, with Dr. Arnold, that " the object of prophecy is rather to delineate principle and states of opinion which shall come than external events," we would ask how these changes of opinion and the development of mind can be shown, without a reference to the political changes with which all historians connect them. Certainly, in sacred prophecy, the political changes foretold are all pointed as subservient to the spiritual ends and aims of prophecy, the establishment of the rule of the Messiah : our ability to discern " a reasonable spiritual meaning " is no test of the character of a prophecy. There may be a real " spiritual meaning," though it may not be to us at once perceptible. The main argument is drawn from the minuteness of the detail, in the history of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ up to the time of Antiochus

Replies.

¹ Vol. III. pp. 71—4.

Epiphanes, as being contrary to the usual tone of prophecy. The character of prophecy varies; it is sometimes plain and palpable, at other times indistinct. Was there no spiritual purpose in forewarning the pious and patriotic section of the Jews, plainly and with unmistakable particularity, of the last and greatest persecution "of the world power," which aimed at the destruction of the Temple, and the utter obliteration of the records of their religion and of their faith, with the avowed object of setting up in its place the idolatries of Greece, and of the yet more corrupt worship of their neighbours? Surely this prophecy was to the Jews as "a light shining in a dark place" (2 Peter i. 19). Never did the Jewish religion and nationality appear nearer extinction, than when Antiochus (the type of all future Antichrists) made this last attempt to efface Judaism and establish the Syro-Greek heathenism. It is obvious, from the Book of Maccabees, that at that time of darkness and peril, the prophecy of Daniel was a comfort to the persecuted people, and a support to them in the firm resistance they made to their oppressors; and it is obvious that its very particularity would help the definiteness of its application to that time of trial. The whole subject is fully discussed in the "Warburton Lectures" for 1876—80, by Stanley Leathes.¹

Historical
state-
ments.

10. Some miscellaneous objections remain to be noted. Two so-called "historical inaccuracies;" the first relating to an apparent discrepancy between Daniel and Jeremiah, in the statement in Daniel (chap. i.) of Nebuchadnezzar having besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. Nebuchadnezzar, then, was subordinate to his father, who died the next year, so that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar as sole ruler, is the fourth

¹ "Old Testament Prophecy," 8vo, 1880, pp. 257—274.

of Jehoiakim, as given by Jeremiah (chap xxv. 1). So also Berosus, quoted by Josephus contra Apion (I. chap. 19). The second relates to Daniel's account of Belshazzar, and of Darius the Mede, names stated as not to be found in other ancient historians. Since this charge was made, the name of Belshazzar has been found in the Babylonian cylinders, which describe him as the son of Nabunahit (the Nabonides of Berosus, though called by Herodotus Labynetus). He is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Oriental usage, which applies the term to any descendant of a remote ancestor. He was probably a grandson, and associated with his father Nabonides, whose wife was a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, as second king in the government. At the time of the siege of Babylon, Nabonides was in command of an army at Borsippa, and thus escaped the slaughter when the Medes and Persians took the city. This fact of two kings over Babylon explains why Daniel was known by the title of "the third in the kingdom" by Belshazzar (Daniel, chap. v. 16, 29).

Dr.
Pusey's
conclud-
ing re-
marks.

There is some difficulty in identifying Darius the Mede. He is mentioned as one who "took the kingdom" (Daniel, v. 31); as one who "was made king of the Chaldæans" (ix. 1)—a reference apparently to a special appointment by the conqueror Cyrus, it may be, to please the Medes. He has been confounded with Astyages and Cyaxeres, but, until recently, the general opinion was that, from his political unimportance, his name had escaped the notice of historians. "The Scholium to Aristophanes," quoted in the "Speaker's Commentary,"¹ refers to a Darius older than Darius Hystaspes. This was probably "Darius the Mede," from whom the Persian *Daric* received its name. The

¹ Vol. VI. p. 312; note 2, p. 314.

conflicting opinions of the learned may be found in Lange's "Commentary."¹

II. We may conclude this chapter by two valuable extracts from the learned work of Dr. Pusey, justifiable by the importance of the question at issue in the character of Daniel's prophecies, and specially valuable as the outpourings of one of the most able and devout of our commentators. With some of his interpretations of Daniel's prophecy we have no sympathy. The first extract refers to the cumulative evidence of the genuineness of Daniel. "I have pointed out to you that, place the Book of Daniel where men will, it contains undeniable prophecy; that its prophecy is at once vast and minute, relating both to the natural events of God's Providence, and the supernatural order of His Grace; that its minute prophecy is in harmony with that of the rest of Holy Scripture; so that they who reject it do, either nakedly or on the one or other plea, reject all definite prophecy, leaving of Holy Scripture only what they will. That whereas the minute prophecies of the Book of Daniel exclude any date between its real date, that of the close of the captivity, and that which must have been its date, had it been a human book, that of Antiochus Epiphanes, the later date is precluded, both by the history of the closing of the Canon, and by the references to the Book of Daniel, as well in books of the Canon, Nehemiah, and Zechariah, as also in other books, before, in, or soon after the date of Epiphanes, and also by the character of its first Greek translation. That neither its language, nor its historical references, nor its doctrines, imply any later date than that of Daniel himself; but that, contrariwise, the character of its Hebrew exactly fits with the period of Daniel, that of

¹ "Daniel," Imp. 8vo, pp. 32—36.

its Chaldee excludes any later period. That the minute, fearless touches, involving details of customs, state-institutions, history, belong to a contemporary ; and that what are, superficially, historical difficulties, disappearing upon fuller knowledge, are indications of the accurate, familiar knowledge of one personally acquainted with customs or events. I have shown, too, how its doctrines are in harmony with those of other Scriptures, earlier and later."

The second extract is a striking picture of the Scepticism of our day. "It is not, for the present, a day of naked blasphemy. The age is mostly too soft for it. Voltaire's *écrasez l'infâme* shocks it. Yet I know not whether the open blasphemy of the eighteenth century is more offensive than the cold-blooded patronising ways of the nineteenth. Rebellion against God is not so degrading, nor so deceiving, as a condescending acknowledgment of His Being, while it denies His rights over us. Be not then imposed upon by smooth words. It is an age of counterfeits. Look not only at what is said, but look for what is suppressed and tacitly dropped out of the creeds. The rationalism of this day will give you good words as far as they go, but will empty them of their meaning ; it will give as plausible a counterfeit as it can, but *the image and superscription* is its own (Matthew xxii. 20). It will gild its idols for you, if you will accept them for the Living God. It will give you sentiment instead of truth, but as the price at which you are to surrender truth. It will praise Jesus as (God forgive it), in fact, an enlightened Jew, a benefactor to mankind ; and it will ask you in exchange to consent not to say that He was God. It will extol His superiority to Judaism, and include under 'Judaism' truths of God. It will praise His words as full of truth, and will call them, in a sense, Divine truths, and will

ask you in exchange not to say that it is *the* infallible truth. It will say, in its sense, that 'the Bible *contains* the Word of God,' and will ask of you to give up your belief that 'it *is* the Word of God.' It will say, in *its* sense, that the prophets spake by the Holy Ghost (*i.e.*, as all which is good and true is spoken by inspiration of the Spirit of God), and will ask of you in exchange to drop the words—or at least the meaning—of the Creed, that God the Holy Ghost 'spake by the prophets.' It will say to you that the prophets were 'elevated by Divine impulsion,' and grant you 'an intensified presentiment,' but only in the sense common to the higher conditions of humanity, even unaided by the grace of God. It will acknowledge a fallible inspiration—fallible even as to matters of every-day morality—and will ask of you to surrender the belief in the infallible. It will descant on the love of God, if you will surrender your belief in His awful holiness and justice: it will speak with you of Heaven, if you, with it, will suppress the mention of Hell. It will retain the words of revelation, and substitute new meanings, if you will be content with the sound, and will part with the substance of the Word of God.

"The battle must be fought. It is half won when any one has firmly fixed in his mind the first principle, that God is All-wise and All-good, and that man's own wisdom, although from God, is no measure for the wisdom of God, and cannot sound its depth. The criticism of rationalism is but a flimsy transparent veil, which hides from no eyes except its own (if, indeed, it *does* hide it altogether from its own) the real ground of its rebellion, its repugnance to receive a revelation to which it must submit, in order that it may see."¹

¹ Dr. Pusey's "Daniel the Prophet," 8vo, 2nd Ed., pp. 563, 566.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTRODUCTORY—EARLY DATE OF THE SYNOPTICAL GOSPELS—THE
CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—THE LANGUAGE AND THE TEXTS.

I. Two questions, quite distinct in their nature, are too often mixed up and so connected in the mind of the student that they appear as if they were one and the same thing: these are (*a*) the period of the first writing of the Gospels, and (*b*) the time of the first notice of their existence and use in the Christian Churches. We are apt to confound the latter period with the former, and to infer that Christian communities existed for at least two or three generations without a written Gospel; whereas the uniform tradition of the Churches ascribes the three Synoptical Gospels to the Apostle Matthew and the Evangelists Mark and Luke; the former of these Evangelists being the companion of Peter, and the latter of Paul. Internal evidence decidedly confirms the testimony of tradition, as may be seen by a reference to the prophecy of the destruction of the Temple and of Jerusalem, and of the events immediately following, as recorded in Matthew xxiv. 1—42, Mark xiii. 1—37, Luke xxi. 5—36. It is obvious that the immediate impression left on the minds of the Apostles was that this great event would be speedily followed by the end of the world and the day of judgment. Had these Gospels been written after the destruction of Jerusalem, it is highly probable that some remark corrective of these misconceptions would have been appended: of this we have an instance in the

Early date
of the
Synop-
tical
Gospels.

Gospel of John, chap. ii. 19—21. Our Lord had replied to the Jews who asked for a sign, "*Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it again.*" Lest this should be misunderstood, the Apostle adds, "*But He spake of the temple of His body.*" The expectation common to the early Christians of the speedy coming of Christ referred to in 1 Thessalonians ii. 2, probably originated in the literal explanation of this prophecy.

2. The exact date of the composition of these Synoptical Gospels, or the period in which they were circulated among the Christian Churches, cannot be ascertained. Such remote "origines" anticipate the chronology of ecclesiastical antiquity. But one can no more imagine a Christian Church without a Gospel than the existence of a man without a distinct personality. At first, the preached Gospel, known and familiar from frequent repetition by the Apostles and Evangelists, would supply the want, but would soon create a desire for a permanent written record. If the inquiry be, What Gospel? our reply is that at no period of the history of the early Churches were any Gospels generally received—though many imperfect memoirs were in circulation—except those which have come down to our times. They all carry with them the imprimatur of the representatives of the primitive Churches, the result of that expression of the Christian consciousness which is the ground and foundation of the Canon of the New Testament. The exact date of the reception of the separate books by the various Churches cannot be ascertained.

Compe-
tency of
the early
Christians
to judge
between
genuine

3. The competency of the early Christian Churches to form a right decision as to the claims of the books circulated among them, whether inspired or not, has been doubted by certain critics. The first Christians have been represented as consisting almost entirely of an

uneducated class, taken from the slave or freed population of the great cities of the Roman empire, and, of course, educationally deficient, and unable to distinguish between the genuine and apocryphal productions of the day. This notion is contrary to all evidence. The early Churches contained persons of wealth and substance, to whom special admonitions were given (1 Timothy ii. 9; 1 Peter iii. 3), also persons of education, who needed to be cautioned against the fallacy of the Greek and Oriental schools of philosophy (1 Timothy vi. 20; Colossians ii. 8). Among some of the early converts were such men as Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts xvii. 34), Erastus, the chamberlain of Corinth (Romans xvi. 23), those of Cæsar's household (Philippians iv. 23: see also Bishop Lightfoot's "Philippians" ¹). No one can read the Epistles without being convinced of the advanced culture of a considerable portion of the Church members to whom they are addressed. They were evidently far from being illiterate, neither were they without the information supplied by a current literature. The fact of the circulation of so many books, bearing upon the life and miracles of Christ, to which St. Luke alludes (chap. i. 1—5), and of forged epistles attributed to Paul, against which he warns the Churches (2 Thessalonians ii. 2, 3, iii. 17; Galatians i. 6), besides the numerous productions of the Jewish and Gnostic heretics, prove that there was a demand for information on the part of a large reading public in the Christian Churches. To say that the Apostolical age was not an age of criticism is nothing to the purpose. In our day there are few private Christians, or even Christian ministers, competent as Bentley to deal with Boyle, but most of us, laity and clergy, are competent to decide on

and apocryphal Gospels, &c.

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¹ Pp. 22, 169, 175.

The
teaching
of the
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ments.

the general tone of the teachings of the productions of the religious press, whether they be orthodox or heterodox, whether High Church or Low, whether Evangelical or Ritualistical. So with the early Christians: they had been fully indoctrinated by the teachings of the Apostles and Evangelists. The doctrines of Christianity preceded the documents; Christian truth, orally communicated and reiterated day after day, in the meetings of the faithful, had a firm hold on the judgment and affections of the first Christians. Apostolic teaching was the test, the canon of criticism, to which they appealed as enjoined by St. Paul. *"But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I again, If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed"* (1 Gal. ~~iii~~ ⁱ 9). Here we have a direct appeal to a standard of judgment created by Apostolic teaching, and so sound has been the judgment of these misrepresented early Christians, that no writings accepted by them as genuine have been repudiated, and none rejected by them have been accepted by the Christian Churches. A comparison of the pseudo-gospels and other apocryphal writings with the genuine Gospels and Epistles in the New Testament, will justify the critical acumen and spiritual instincts of the early Christians. We have a case in point, illustrating the jealous care of the ancient Church, in the fact, recorded by Tertullian, of the definition of a presbyter who had written "The Acts of Paul and Thecla."

4. But were the Christian Churches, especially those of the first century, competent, from their knowledge of the history and teachings of our Saviour and of His Apostles, to form a correct judgment of the character of

the books which claimed to represent the history and teachings of our Lord? This is a very important question, and deserves more attention than has usually been given to it. It bears upon the competency of the real judges, and of the origin and nature of that Christian consciousness, which has vouched for the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles and other writings which comprise the New Testament. We have a satisfactory reply. The Epistles of Paul especially, by their references and appeals, enable us to form a correct estimate of the intellectual culture and the religious knowledge of the early Churches. These Epistles were written before the destruction of Jerusalem, some of them before Mark and Luke—the second and third Gospels—were written. They are addressed apparently to assemblies of respectably educated people, and allude to all the leading facts and teachings of our Lord, as recorded in the three Synoptical Gospels, and are thus an undeniable chain of testimony to the literary and spiritual qualifications of the major part of the members of these early Churches. We copy two statements bearing on this point, one from a little work by the *Rev. E. B. Elliott*,¹ the other from an article² written by the *Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, D.D.*, entitled “Testimony of St. Paul to Jesus Christ.”

The first Christians well grounded in Christian doctrine.

I. The testimony of the Apostolical Epistles to the knowledge of the early Churches, of the facts and teachings of Christianity, is thus given by the *Rev. E. B. Elliott*.

(1) *Jesus Christ's eternal pre-existence and equality with the Father.* Colossians i. 15—20; *Philemon* ii. 6; He-

Elliott's testimony of the Apostolical Epistles.

¹ “Confirmation Lectures,” IV., 8vo, 1859.

² “British and Foreign Evangelical Review,” No. CXI. p. 51.

brews i. 2, 3, 10; 1 Timothy vi. 15, 16; 1 John i. 1; 1 Corinthians i. 24, ii. 8; Romans xi. 36.

(2) *His incarnation: truly man yet uniting the Divine with the human nature.* Galatians iv. 4; Romans i. 3, 4, viii. 3; Philippians ii. 7, 8; Colossians ii. 6—9; Hebrews i. 2, 3, ii. 14; 1 Timothy iii. 16.

(3) *His descent as man from David.* Romans i. 3; 2 Timothy ii. 8.

(4) *His character.* *Holiness,* Hebrews iv. 15, vii. 26, ix. 14; 1 Peter i. 15, 19; 2 Corinthians v. 21; 1 Peter ii. 22. *Love,* Ephesians iii. 19; Galatians ii. 20; Titus iii. 4. *Sympathy,* Hebrews ii. 18, iv. 15. *Humility,* Philippians ii. 7, 8; 2 Corinthians viii. 9. *Obedience,* Philippians ii. 8; Hebrews iii. 2, v. 8.

(5) *His temptation.* Hebrews ii. 18, iv. 15, v. 2, 7.

(6) *His miracles.* Acts x. 22.

(7) *His transfiguration.* 2 Peter i. 16—18.

(8) *His institution of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.* Ephesians iv. 5; Galatians iii. 27; 1 Corinthians x. 16, xi. 23—26.

(9) *Betrayed by Judas.* Acts i. 15—20.

(10) *Examined before Pilate.* 1 Timothy vi. 13.

(11) *Death on the cross for sinners.* Romans v. 6, xiv. 9; 1 Corinthians xv. 3; 2 Corinthians v. 15; Galatians iii. 13; Ephesians v. 2; Phil~~emon~~ ii. 8; Colossians ii. 14; 1 Thessalonians ii. 15; 1 Timothy i. 15; Titus ii. 14; Hebrews vii. 27, ix. 28, x. 10—14; 1 Peter ii. 24; 1 John ii. 2.

(12) *His burial.* Romans vi. 4; 1 Corinthians xv. 4.

(13) *His resurrection.* Romans i. 4, iv. 25; 1 Corinthians xv. 4, 6, &c.; 2 Corinthians iv. 14; Ephesians i. 20; Philippians ii. 9; Colossians ii. 12; 1 Thessalonians iv. 14; 2 Timothy ii. 8; Hebrews xiii. 20; 1 Peter i. 3. *Witnessed by angels,* 1 Timothy iii. 16.

(14) *His ascension.* Romans viii. 34 ; Ephesians iv. 8 ; Philippians ii. 9 ; 1 Timothy iii. 16 ; Hebrews iv. 14, vi. 20, ix. 24, x. 12 ; 1 Peter i. 21.

(15) *His giving of the Holy Ghost.* Acts ii. 33 ; Ephesians iv. 8 ; Philippians i. 19 ; Titus iii. 5, 6 ; Hebrews ii. 4.

(16) *Present work of intercession.* Hebrews iv. 14—16, vi. 20, viii. 25 ; Romans viii. 34 ; 1 John ii. 1.

(17) *Christ the life of Christians.* Colossians iii. 4 ; Galatians ii. 20.

(18) *Future coming to take the kingdom.* Romans viii. 17 ; 1 Corinthians xi. 26, xv. 23—25 ; 2 Corinthians v. 10 ; 1 Thessalonians iv. 14—17 ; 1 Timothy vi. 14—16 ; 1 Titus ii. 13 ; Hebrews ix. 28.

5. II.—Dr. Dykes gives us the creed which St. Paul taught and the Churches received concerning Jesus Christ, taking his stand upon the *four* undisputed Epistles of St. Paul—Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, and Romans—and only appealing to these. Dr. Dykes' creed of St. Paul received by the Churches.

“The result I find is this: ‘*the Jesus whom Paul preached*,’ and whom all the Churches accepted for the Messiah, was born a Jew, and a lineal descendant of the royal house of David (Romans i. 3, ix. 5). He was *made of a woman* in respect of His human birth ; at the same time, He was in some superior sense ‘*the Son of God*,’ sent forth from the Father in the likeness of fallen humanity, for the purpose of human redemption (Galatians iv. 4 ; Romans i. 4, viii. 3). He is the counterpart of our race’s first head, a second Adam, destined to restore the life forfeited in the lapse of the race (Romans v. 12—21 ; 1 Corinthians xv. 45—49). While on earth, nevertheless, He was placed (by circumcision ?) under the Mosaic law (Galatians iv. 4), and was a member of a family which counted several brothers, of whom one was named

James (1 Corinthians ix. 5 ; Galatians i. 19). His personal ministry was restricted to the Hebrew people (Romans xv. 8), although His Gospel was destined ultimately to embrace all men (Romans i. 16, iii. 29, 30, xv. 8—12). On a few subjects His teaching is expressly alluded to : such as marriage (1 Corinthians vii. 10), the law of unclean meats (Romans xiv. 14), the support of Christian teachers (1 Corinthians ix. 14), and the love which fulfils all the law (Romans xiii. 8, 9). Some who were afterwards His disciples, were known to have enjoyed in His lifetime His personal acquaintance (2 Corinthians v. 16). To the order of the Apostles He delegated authority in His Church (2 Corinthians x. 8, xiii. 10). He Himself was a poor man (2 Corinthians viii. 9), and repudiated in the propagation of His cause the employment of physical force (2 Corinthians x. 4). With this agreed the characteristic features of His conduct, in which chiefly He became an example to His followers. These were gentleness and meekness of spirit (2 Corinthians x. 1), self-renunciation and self-denial (Romans xv. 3 ; 1 Corinthians x. 33, xi. 1), forbearance towards those who abused Him (Romans xv. 3). At length He was betrayed to death (1 Corinthians xi. 23). On the eve of His betrayal, He instituted a symbolical meal of bread and wine, to be observed by His followers in memory of His passion (*ibid.*). He was put to death upon a cross—a mode of death esteemed accursed among His countrymen (Galatians iii. 13)—and this was done in ignorance, by the lawful civil authorities (1 Corinthians ii. 8). At the same time, this great event was really a fulfilment of the Divine counsel for our redemption (Romans iii. 25, v. 8, viii. 32) as foretold in the Scriptures of the Old Testament (1 Corinthians xv. 3). It is by the blood of His cross

we have been redeemed from the curse of the Divine law on account of sin, and reconciled to God, so that we obtain forgiveness of our sin and peace with God (Romans iii. 24—26, v. 6—11; 2 Corinthians v. 14—21; Galatians iii. 13). Of His Divine mission from the Father, as well as of the acceptance of His death as an expiation for sin, the supreme proof was afforded when, by the power of God, on the third day after His crucifixion, He was raised again to life (Romans i. 4, iv. 24—25, viii. 31—34; 1 Corinthians xv. 4, 17, &c.), passing out of the tomb in which He had been buried (1 Corinthians xv. 4). He showed Himself alive after His resurrection on repeated occasions, five in number at least—now to single disciples, again to the twelve Apostles, and once to over five hundred persons (1 Corinthians xv. 5—7). He ascended into heaven, where He is to be conceived of as seated at the right hand of His Father in glory, as Lord both of the living and the dead (Romans viii. 34, xiv. 9). Through Him it hath pleased God to bestow upon the disciples of Jesus a special supernatural gift—the gift of the Holy Spirit of God, who manifested His sacred indwelling in the members of the Church, both by acts of religious confidence, desire and joy, and by holy supernatural endowments of various kinds (Galatians iii. 2, 5, 14, iv. 6, v. 22; 2 Corinthians i. 21, 22, v. 5; 1 Corinthians xii. 13, 14; Romans viii. 9—16, 26; 1 Corinthians xi. 19, &c.). Meanwhile Jesus Christ continued in His celestial absence to intercede for His disciples upon earth (Romans viii. 34). These when they die go into His immediate presence (2 Corinthians v. 8). Such as still remain on earth, absent from their Lord, are taught to await His future advent (1 Corinthians i. 7), when He is to be the Judge of all mankind, before whom all secrets

shall be disclosed, and at whose bar every one of us must give account of himself to God (Romans ii. 16, xiv. 10—22 ; 1 Corinthians iv. 5 ; 2 Corinthians v. 10)." So far Dr. Dykes' beautiful and comprehensive analysis of Paul's teaching, which is a fair specimen of the "*faith which was once delivered unto the saints*" (Jude, 3rd verse). Surely under such teaching, a large number of Christians were to be found in all the Churches, whom we may confidently believe to have been *not babes*, but of *full age*, of the number of "*those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil*" (Hebrews v. 13, 14).

Mistakes
as to the
scarcity
and cost
of books
in the
first and
second
centuries.

6. The mistaken supposition of the scarcity and high cost of books, has led many to question the possibility of the possession of any literary competency on the part of the early Christians, to discriminate between the true and the false Gospels and Epistles offered to them. It is often asserted that the MS. copies of books were at that time sold at prices which altogether precluded their circulation among the poorer classes to which the first Christians belonged, and that, having so limited an access to books, they could not possess or exercise the critical faculty. But this is a conclusion drawn merely from the state of literature in the Middle Ages, when various circumstances had co-operated to lessen and almost destroy an interest in literature ; for instance, a population almost entirely illiterate, a paucity of copyists, a scarcity of material for transcripts, owing to the dearth of parchment—a state of things differing widely from the condition of society in the larger cities especially of the Roman empire, in the first centuries of the Christian era. There was then a numerous educated class, and the knowledge of writing was common at least to the inhabitants of the towns. The multipli-

cation of books by transcript was a very large and important branch of business, carried on by proprietors possessing educated slaves, employed by them as penmen, writing by the ear from the dictation of a reader, and thus a large number of copies of any work could be made simultaneously; parchment in the West, and papyrus in the East, and *chartes*, a paper made from papyrus, used also in the West, furnished abundant material. It is probable that a larger number of copies, say one hundred, could be written off at one time from dictation, than a single one could be set up by a printer. There was a time in England, when an edition of five hundred copies was thought a fair and sufficient supply for the probable demand. Such a limited demand would be almost as easily met in Rome and other large towns, almost as speedily and cheaply in the first three centuries, as in the sixteenth or seventeenth in Europe. One book of the poet Martial, containing 540 verses, could be transcribed in an hour. Another book of the same author, 700 lines, highly finished, was sold for three shillings and fourpence of our money, a plainer copy for one shilling and sixpence, or even for fourpence, and yet left a profit to the publisher.¹ It was therefore quite possible for the early Christians to procure copies of the Gospels, Epistles, and the productions of the early Fathers, and of the pseudo gospels and epistles, and thus be placed in a position for judging of the respective claims of these writings on their confidence. (The Apostles wrote on papyrus, 2 John xii.; 3 John xiii.) Norton supposes that towards the end of the second century, there must have been at least sixty thousand copies of the Gospels in circulation among the

¹ "Merivale's "History of the Romans under the Empire," and Article *Book*, "Ency. Brit.," Vol. IV. 9th Ed. p. 37—9.

three millions of professing Christians in the Roman Empire.¹

7. It will appear, then, from these considerations, that there was nothing in the condition of the first Christians to prevent the exercise of a free and critical judgment on the Christian literature offered to their perusal. And as not only the three Synoptical Gospels, but also the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, were written before the fall of Jerusalem, and as all the remaining books—the Gospel of St. John, the Apocalypse, and the Epistle of St. John—were written before the conclusion of the first century, the Churches were well supplied with Christian literature. It is also highly probable that some of the Apostles besides St. John survived the destruction of Jerusalem; and while any of the Apostles were living, or those originally appointed by them to the oversight of the Churches, it is not easy to imagine that spurious Gospels or Epistles could be imposed upon the Christian community. The Churches to whom the second epistles were addressed could not be deceived. A jealous, careful criticism was exercised, as is proved by the fact that some of the books now forming part of the Canon were for a time excluded, from the deficiency of evidence, though afterwards admitted when the doubts were removed. Many writings of undoubted value, which at certain times and in sundry localities had been received as canonical, were rejected because of the absence of Apostolic authority. Thus the Canon of the New Testament is a growth, the product of the matured Christian consciousness of the Churches of the Apostolic age; and *as such*, and on *this ground* alone, has been recognised and accepted by the general councils of the Church.

The
Canon
of the
New Tes-
tament a
growth.

¹ Andrew Norton's "Gospels," Vol. I. p. 12.

Let it be clearly understood that the books constituting the New Testament have not been imposed upon the Churches by the decrees of any Church Council, or by any other authority whatever. The utmost that has been done by any of the earlier Councils is to declare what books had already been received by the Churches, and which consequently should be read in the Churches.

8. At one time great stress was laid upon the quotations in reference to the various books of the New Testament, as a branch of the evidence of Christianity itself. Taken as a whole, these evidences are most conclusive, and, in fact, indisputable, when the father quoted is admitted to be the author of the work ascribed to him, or the book quoted by him admitted to be one of the canonical books. But the fragmentary condition of many of these writings, the corruptions and interpolations in the texts, difficult to correct owing to the paucity of MS. copies, the loose method of quotation common to all writers who quote from memory, the vagueness at times of the allusions, which render it difficult in some cases to decide whether a Gospel or a pseudo-gospel or a traditionary belief is referred to, render appeals to this class of testimony less clear and evident to the general reader than to those deeply read in ecclesiastical literature. To the special controversies respecting these writings we shall have to refer in due course. We wish to be understood that while believing in the genuineness and the value of the testimony of the Apostolic and subsequent Fathers of the first three centuries, to the truth of the great facts of the Gospel history, and to the early existence and circulation of the Gospels and Epistles, we regard them to be mainly useful as illustrating the literary history of early

Testi-
mony of
early
Christian
Fathers.

Two plain facts upon which we may depend as evidence which cannot be denied.

The four undisputed Epistles of St. Paul.

Christianity. To treat them as main witnesses seems a needless heaping up of testimonies, which encumbers the memory, and throws into the background the *two* plain and indisputable facts which afford the highest moral proof, bordering upon absolute demonstration, of the truth of the events recorded in the Gospels. These are, *first*, the existence of numerous Christian societies, established from Judæa westward and northward, from Jerusalem to Rome itself, within the space of a quarter of a century after the date assigned to the death and resurrection of our Lord. *Secondly*, the substantial agreement of these societies in the reception of the great truths revealed by Christianity, and in their belief in the miracles which accompanied the first promulgation of Christianity, and especially of that the most striking of all, the resurrection of the crucified Jesus of Nazareth from the dead. These two facts rest upon the authority of the four undisputed Epistles of St. Paul, namely, the Epistle to the Galatians, First and Second of Corinthians, and the Romans, which are admitted by Baur, Renan, and others to be indisputably genuine. The earliest, that to the Galatians, is assigned to A.D. 54; the latest, to the Romans, to about A.D. 58. The whole argument for these Epistles is set forth with great beauty, perspicuity and power, by Dr. J. Oswald Dykes, in his "Witness of St. Paul to Jesus Christ."¹ These facts cannot be denied. The sceptical school are left to explain the inexplicable, in attempting to account for Christianity and Christ, without admitting the miraculous history in the four Gospels; and what that Christianity was in its beginning, they must admit from the earliest testimony, and one handed down by evidence which is not disputed. This confinement of the discussion on

¹ "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," No. CXI. pp. 51—74.

the evidences of Christianity appears to us to clear up many difficulties and prepare the way for the acceptance of the truth.

9. It is then mainly as a literary question connected with the "origines" of the documents of Christianity, that we shall briefly glance at the vast mass of patristic literature. In the writings of the APOSTOLIC FATHERS, *Clement* of Rome, *Ignatius* of Antioch, and *Polycarp* of Smyrna, we mark the striking difference between the style of thought of the inspired writers, and the ordinary average mind and thought of their immediate followers. The tendency of our day is to undervalue these primitive productions of the mind of the early Church, the result of a reaction against the idolatrous and most unreasonable prepossession of preceding ages, in which an attempt was made to place these excellent but fallible men in the position of authoritative teachers, co-ordinate with the inspired Apostles. The work of the Rev. J. J. Blunt, D.D., on the Early Fathers,¹ is an able reply to some doubtful points in the oft quoted work of Daillé, "De usu patrum" (1611); the one writes from a high episcopal standpoint, while the other is in direct opposition to Church authority; both should be read and compared. James Donaldson, in his "Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, from the Death of the Apostles to the Ante-Nicene Council,"² and in his brief sketches prefixed to the translation of the Ante-Nicene Fathers,³ has expressed some opinions which imply on his part dogmatic prepossession which ought not to have found expression in connection with the works in question. One is, "The Evangelistic

Patristic
literature
used and
misused.

¹ "Blunt on the Fathers," 8vo, 1817.

² Three Vols, 8vo, 1864—6.

³ Published by Clark and Co., Twenty-one Vols. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 61.

The early
Fathers
Evan-
gelical.

theology is widely different from that of the early Christian writers," a statement which has called forth a severe censure from a reviewer who has done full justice to the work in general. We quote from the "British Quarterly":¹ "There is one subject on which Mr. Donaldson appears to us to write with an obvious bias, and on which he displays some of the feelings of a partisan: this appears in his extreme anxiety to eliminate from these writings, any dogmatic admission of value on the person of Christ, or the distinction between the Logos and the Spirit of God, or on the relation of the death of Christ to the forgiveness of sins." In opposition to this erroneous opinion of Donaldson, the "London Quarterly"² quoted a number of passages clearly proving that the Apostolic Fathers were in perfect agreement with modern Evangelical theology. The *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Epistle to Diognetus*, are probably within the first century, but their connection with the Barnabas and Hermas mentioned in the New Testament is doubtful. It is remarkable that Barnabas refers to Matthew as Scripture. Attention has been lately drawn to a neglected but important apocryphal writing: "The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," written, according to Ewald, between 90—110 A.D., Vorstman soon after 70 A.D., Lange and De Groot at the end of the first or beginning of the second century, Wieseler, 120 A.D., Dorner and Cruden, 100—135 A.D. The genuineness and integrity of the book are indisputable, as proved by Vorstman. The conclusion drawn by the Rev. B. B. Warfield (in the "Presbyterian Review," United States) is as follows: "The complete evidence warrants us in saying that the 'Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs' evinces almost

¹ Vol. XLIII. p. 591.

² Vol. XXVIII. p. 224.

indubitable dependence on, and hence the prior existence of, the following New Testament books, Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philip-
 pians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, 1 John, and Revelations." *Hilgenfeld* admits that "this book reckons already the Pauline Epistles, together with the Acts, as part of the Holy Scripture." Dr. Lumby quotes a passage from the Talmud, dating from the generation which had seen the destruction of the Temple, where "the book" is so spoken of by the Christian speaker as to evince the fact that it contained both Old and New Testaments (*i.e.*, the Books of Numbers and Matthew), and was considered equally authentic in all its parts. (Quoted from Dickinson's "Theological Quarterly,"¹ a most valuable collection of theological and critical articles, and the cheapest of all that class of publications.)

10. Few students of the nineteenth century are aware of the extent of the Christian literature, and of the literature bearing upon Christianity, in the second and third centuries of our era. Besides *Lardner* as a standard and exhaustive reference, no one should be ignorant of *Paley's* characteristic, brief, and comprehensive account of these writers;² *B. F. Westcott's*³ "History of the Canon of the New Testament;" *Bishop Lightfoot's* articles in the "Contemporary" in reply to "The School of Supernatural Religion;" *M. F. Sadler's* "The Lost Gospel" and its contents;⁴ *W. Sanday's*⁵ "The Gospels in the Second Century." Our reference to the writings of the Fathers of the second and third

Great extent of Christian literature in the second and third centuries.

¹ No. XXII., April, 1880, pp. 270—287. the New Testament," edition 1875.

² Whately's "Paley's Evidences," 8vo, pp. 121—180.

⁴ "The Lost Gospel" (1876).

⁵ "Gospels in the Second Cen-

³ "History of the Canon of tury" (1876).

Reference
to the
Books of
the New
Testament
in the
writers of
the second
and third
centuries.

centuries is not to their statements as proof of the truths of Christianity, but as an incidental proof that certain writings now included in the New Testament were known and used in the early Church, and were consequently of the antiquity which they claim. We select especially those whose writings testify to the Canon of the New Testament. (1) *The Greek apologists, Quadratus and Aristides*, who presented to the Emperor Adrian two Apologies on behalf of Christianity, A.D. 126—130. (2) *Papias*, Bishop of Hieropolis, a hearer of John and companion of Polycarp (A.D. 110—116), who wrote an "Explication of the Oracles of the Lord," and mentions Matthew, Mark, and the Epistles of John. (3) In the fragments relating to *the Elders*, quoted by Irenæus, and *the Evangelists*, in the reign of Trajan, are references to Matthew, John, the Epistle to the Ephesians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Peter. (4) *Basilides* and his sect made use of the Gospels Luke and John. (5) *Marcion* (another heretic) rejected the Old Testament, all the Gospels except Luke, which he mutilated, and certain of Paul's Gospels (A.D. 140). (6) *Justin Martyr*, the author of two "Apologies," and of the "Dialogue with Typhon" (A.D. 103—165). Under the title of "Memoirs of the Apostles," or "The Memoirs," he refers sixty-seven times to all our Gospels (except John), the Acts, the Epistle to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Hebrews, 2 Peter, and the Apocalypse. The author of "Supernatural Religion" attempts to prove that the quotations from or reference to the Gospels found in Justin Martyr and others of the Fathers, are taken from apocryphal gospels now lost. That the "Memoirs" must have been our Gospels, is evident from the fact that Justin tells us they were

read in the assemblies of the Churches ; and if not so, how could our Gospels have so soon superseded them ? It is possible to reconstruct from his quotations a fairly connected narrative of the incarnation, birth, teaching, crucifixion, and resurrection and ascension of our Lord. There is also a reference which would naturally be referred to John's Gospel, but it is doubtful.¹ After a careful perusal of the remarks of Westcott, Sanday, Sadler, and Bishop Lightfoot, it is impossible to doubt but that the most of the quotations are from our Gospels, probably however from copies which had readings somewhat different from our present text. (7) The *Muratorian Canon*, fragments preserved in Muratori's Italian antiquities (which were probably written soon after 147 A.D.). In them the four Gospels, expressly John, are recognised ; also the Acts, the thirteen Epistles of Paul, Jude, Second and Third Epistles of John, and the Apocalypse. (8) *Celsus*, a learned philosopher and writer against Christianity (about 176 A.D.). His work is called "The Word of Truth;" he gives eighty quotations and references to the four Gospels, to the Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, Galatians, Timothy, First Epistle of Peter, and 1 John. He wrote also an epitome of the life of Christ, and quotes none but our four Gospels. (9) *Irenæus*, Bishop of Lyons (130 A.D.), a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of John—was Bishop of Lyons, 174 A.D. He quotes the four Gospels, Acts, twelve Epistles of Paul, the Hebrews, 1 Peter, First and Second John, and the Apocalypse ; in fact, all the books of the New Testament except 3 John, 2 Peter, and Jude. This Father's testimony to the Canon is most important, as when very young he was Presbyter in the Church of Smyrna,

¹ Sanday's "Gospels in the Second Century," pp. 91—8.

Asia Minor, of which the aged Polycarp was bishop—one who had lived in the generation which had seen the Apostle John. (10) Then *Tertullian*, 160—240 A.D., the zealous, fiery African, refers to our four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen of Paul's Epistles, 1 Peter, 1 John, Hebrews (which he attributes to Barnabas), Jude, the Apocalypse—all our books except James, 2 Peter, Second and Third John. Lardner remarks that Tertullian first called the Church's books the *New Testament* or *Instrument*. There are perhaps more and larger quotations of that small volume of the New Testament in this one Christian author, than of all the works of Cicero in the writers of all sorts for several ages.¹ (11) *Clement of Alexandria* (165—220 A.D.) recognises all the books of the New Testament except James, 2 Peter, and Third of John; and this silence of Clement, and of others before him, is no proof of his or their condemnation of these books, from the fact that they had no occasion to quote them. He regards the Hebrews as the work of Paul. (12) *Origen* (185—253 A.D.), Presbyter of Alexandria, received all the books of the New Testament except the Epistle of James, the Second of Peter, Second and Third of John, and Jude, which he describes as well known, but not generally received.

II. We are now come to the middle of the third century. Before this time all the Churches of Europe, Asia and Africa had borne their testimony to the genuineness of the Christian Scriptures. The Syriac version of the Scriptures for the Eastern Churches, the old (Italic) Latin translation in North Africa for the Latin population. It will be seen that there were some books which up to the end of the third century, and even

The
Syriac
and old
Italic ver-
sions.

¹ Lardner, Vol. II. p. 306.

later, were not generally received ; these were called the *Antilegomena* (disputed writings), viz., the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Second of Peter, the Epistles of James and Jude, the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, but eventually they all found a place in the Canon. We might also have referred to the apocryphal Clementine Homilies, &c., and to other heretical productions of the second century ; but this belongs more to the work of a writer of ecclesiastical history. By all the Churches, the four Gospels have always been received as one narrative, never to be separated. Some heretical sects used only one Gospel. Marcion that of Luke, only greatly altered by him. At Rhossus, in Cilicia, a Gospel of Peter was for some time used. The Jewish Ebionites used a Gospel of St. Matthew (in Syro-Chaldæan). In Alexandria the Gospel of the Egyptian was for a time used on dogmatic grounds.

12. The persecution of Diocletian was accompanied by an attempt to destroy the sacred books of the Christian Church, 303 A.D. ; this led to a thorough sifting of the non-Canonical books, and their complete separation from the works authorised to be read in the Church assemblies. From this time lists of the Canonical books are numerous ; the Canon of Eusebius was already admitted by the Council of Nice. The Synod of Laodicea contains in its last Canon (363 A.D.) a list of all our books, except the Apocalypse. In the Council of Carthage (393 A.D.) the books of the New Testament are exactly the same as ours. A catalogue of the Scriptures during the first eight centuries of our era is inserted in the grand work of Westcott on the Canon,¹ in the original Latin and Greek of the records from

Sifting of
the non-
Canonical
books
began
303 A.D.

First list
of all the
Books of
the New
Testament
except the
Apoca-
lypse.

¹ Appendix D., p. 523.

which they are taken ; also, a very valuable apparatus for critical use,¹ which gives a synopsis of the historical evidences as furnished by different authors, with reference to the books of the New Testament. The admirable work of Sanday, "The Gospels of the Second Century," contains in its Appendix² an index "taken from Volkmar, with some change of plan." It gives, first, the name of the author, then works extant, the date, and the evangelist books referred to by the writer. If it were possible to add to the value of the works of Westcott and of Sanday, we might refer to these useful additions. No Christian student can do justice to himself and to the character of his library, without including these works among the books which he regards as indispensable.

The text
of the
New Tes-
tament.

13. The substantial correctness of THE TEXT of the books of the New Testament found in the most ancient copies extant, cannot be doubted, notwithstanding verbal discrepancies, more or less. Of these exemplars the *Vatican* MS. and the *Sinaitican* MS., are probably as early as the middle of the fourth century, 350 A.D. The *Alexandrian* M.S. about 400 A.D. The *Codex Ephræmi* MS. and the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* MS. about the fifth century. They are all written in the *uncial* (inch or capital) letters, and are esteemed the most important of all the MSS. None of them contain the whole of the books of the New Testament, portions of each manuscript being deficient. A large number of MSS., uncial as well as cursive (small character), have been examined by scholars, say 127 uncial and 1,463 cursive, and it is calculated that in all about 2,000 MSS. are in existence.

¹ Index, No. II., p. 532.

² Index, No. II., Chronological and Analytical.

Besides these MS. copies of the New Testament, there are early translations of the Syriac, the old Italic, the version of St. Jerome, and others—besides the quotations from the New Testament found in the writings of the early Fathers—all of which have been used as means to ascertain the most correct readings, and to bring the present text to the state in which it came from the original writers. The importance of these learned and laborious efforts of Biblical scholars cannot be over estimated. The variations of the text in all the extant MSS. are numerous, in all, perhaps, 200,000 in number; most of them very trivial in themselves, and plainly the result of mistakes in copying, to which all MSS. are liable. Valuable as are these recensions from readings, they do not affect any, even the least, important truth. Dr. Bentley, the most thorough and exact of critics, remarks in reference to these variations in the readings of the MSS.: “The real text of the sacred writers does not now—since the originals have been so long lost—lie in any MS. or edition, but is dispersed in them all. It is competently exact, indeed, in the worst MS. now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them, choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design, out of the whole heap of readings.” He further regards the number and variety of these readings as an advantage: “Make your 30,000 (variations) as many more, if the number of copies can ever reach that sum; all the better to a knowing and a serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave, or a fool, and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the

Bentley's
remarks
on the
various
readings.

same.”¹ The New Testament writings—Gospels, Epistles, &c.—are substantially the same as originally written; there is a general agreement in all the copies of portions, or of the whole of the New Testament, though written in different countries and at different periods. The numerous quotations in the writings of the Fathers, the correspondence of the ancient translations with our present New Testament—all of which point to one common source—and their variations in words or in expressions, are naturally accounted for from errors of transcription. To impose an altered Gospel upon the early Church was as difficult a matter as the introduction of a new unauthorised version would be in the nineteenth century.

14. THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT is Greek; not the classical Greek of Thucydides, Plato or Aristotle, but the common popular Greek of the East, as spoken by Asiatic Syrians and Jews, more or less affected by the idioms of the vernacular languages of the people, who used it as the most convenient, and, in fact, the only medium of general intercourse. Here we may quote, with some alteration which no one will dispute, the writer of an article in the “Quarterly Review” on the New Testament.² “A simple style, is that simple arrangement of words in a consecutive series, calling up the ideas, as it is desired to arrange them in a chain in the mind of the reader; this is called the natural style. The style peculiarly Greek is far otherwise; it broke up this continuous string into separate portions of various lengths, and then twisted and coiled up these lengths, each, as it were, into a curiously-arranged knot, with one

Character
of the
Greek of
the New
Testa-
ment.

¹ Bentley's “Remarks on a Late Essay on Freethinking,” A.D. 1713.

² Vol. CXVIII. pp. 108—9.

nominative case and one verb to give unity to the whole, and with all the other portions thrown into subordinate clauses, concatenated by conjunctions and participles, practically arranged as a puzzle, the key to which was reserved for the last word. In this way the two passions of the Greek mind, the one for unity and the other for intellectual enigmas, were fully gratified. The Greek inflexions made the style feasible. From Greece it was transferred to Rome; from Rome it passed into our English literature, as in the style of Milton and Hooker; and to this the attention of the classical student is now exclusively addressed in our schools and universities. Now, had the style of the New Testament been constructed on this model, how could it have admitted accurate translation into every language, adaptation to popular usage, and access to simple minds incapable of following the riddle of long and involved periods? How could it have expressed or inspired feelings, which bursts away at once from the restriction of such artificial intricacies? But by a merciful arrangement of Providence, the writers of the Greek Testament were not exclusively Greek; their native tongue retained much influence over their habits of thought and speaking. Some portions were orally delivered; much of it dictated. Full of feeling and earnestness and intensity, and absorbed in thought, to the exclusion of the mere style, their diction broke away from the cold and chilling elaborateness of Greek art; and thus, while it still retains all the regular precision and accuracy of the Greek inflexions, it became a language for all nations."

15. THE FIRST PRINTED EDITION OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT was that by the learned Erasmus, 1516 A.D.; four other editions followed in 1519, 1522, 1527, and

First
printed
edition of
the Greek
Testa-
ment.

1535 A.D. What is generally called *Textus Receptus* is the Elzevir edition of 1633 A.D., which is derived from the Complutensian Polyglott and the fifth edition of Erasmus. Various recensions of this text by Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Scholz, Lachmann, Griesbach, Tregelles and others, are preparing the way for a yet more correct edition of the Greek Testament.

CHAPTER XVII.

INTRODUCTORY—SCEPTICAL ATTACKS ON THE GOSPELS.

I. Numerous as these have been since the commencement of the nineteenth century, they may be classified as originated in schools of thought of a very distinct and diverse character, agreeing only in a negation of the traditional orthodox opinions of the Christian Churches. We have, FIRST, the *Mythical* theory of Dr. *X. R. Strauss*; SECONDLY, the *Tübingen "Tendency"* theory of Dr. *F. C. Baur*; THIRDLY, the *Romancist* theory of *Ernest Renan*; FOURTHLY, the *Hypercritical* theory of the author of "*Supernatural Religion*;" and FIFTHLY, *sundry minor and secondary* offshoots of the sceptical school. All these are fairly representative of the varying sceptical thought of the literary criticism of our day.

Sceptical theories classified. D. 7

2. *First.* The *Mythical* theory of Dr. *X. C. Strauss* was originally developed in his "*Life of Jesus*."¹ It was immediately hailed as a fatal blow to Christianity by the sceptical school, who boasted that at last the great problem which "*freethought*" had been trying to solve had yielded to the learning and critical acumen of the German philosophical divines. This great problem is the accounting for the origin and establishment of Christianity in the world, without admitting the Divine

Mythical theory by Strauss. D. 7

¹ Published 1836, the English translation in three vols. 8vo, 1846.

and supernatural element in the four Gospels. Little did these premature boasters imagine that within a few years this theory would be abandoned, and its author seek for rest in absolute atheism. The charm of his book was in the new ground taken up. Hitherto the English and French Deists had employed both ridicule and argument bearing on the details of the Gospel narrative, and the German Rationalists had gone far beyond, but in the same track, in their hypotheses, in which the amount of learning displayed was more evident than the rationality. Strauss despised such half-and-half scepticism, and cut away the materials upon which the criticism of his predecessors had so long laboured with such unsatisfactory results. For him, the Gospel histories are a *myth*, the four Gospels and Acts a collection of myths—"a conglomerate, as geologists would say, of a very slender portion of facts and truths, with an enormous accretion of undesigned fictions, fables, and superstitions, gradually framed and insensibly received, like the mythologies of Greece and Rome, or the ancient systems of Hindoo theology."¹ Strauss supposes that in the period between the death of Christ and the appearance of the first Gospel, which, according to *his* chronology, was from 30 to 50 years, a series of notions respecting Jesus had grown up and had been received by the early Christians.² Jesus Christ had thus been the nucleus around which these imaginative creations had clustered and found a resting-place. In his "Examination of the Gospels," Strauss displays a frivolity and malice unequalled by the most indecent of his predecessors in the field of negative criticism. In every narrative he finds impossibilities and absurdities.

¹ Essays by H. Rogers, Vol. III. p. 323, 12mo ed.

² Ebrard, p. 474.

Such of the discourses of our Lord as rise above the contracted Judaism of His age could not, in Strauss's opinion, have been uttered by Jesus, although this fact is noticed in the Evangelists as calling forth the surprise of His hearers (Luke iv. 22 ; Matthew xiii. 54—56 ; Mark vi. 2). This wholesale denial of a series of well-authenticated facts, resting on evidences in all other cases deemed sufficient, found few believers among the learned and thoughtful. It seemed to them as if Strauss's theory was simply "the triumphant exercitation of a scholar bent on trying what can be made by the help of sufficient learning out of the most helpless hypothesis. . . . To declare that the whole evangelical narrative is but one continual fable, that the writers of the Gospels intended them to be received as avowedly fictitious compositions, is much more like a caricature of the audacities sometimes attributed to German speculations than a possible example of the degree to which a scholar, overmastered by an idea, can even have bewildered himself, or sought to bewilder others."¹ To attempt to deal seriously with a theory like this is to fight with a bubble. We may, however, observe that the Apostolic age, that is to say, the first century of our era, was as little suitable for the growth of a myth as our own nineteenth century. In the four "undisputed" Epistles of Paul, we learn that fourteen or seventeen years before the date of the Epistle to the Galatians, that is to say, either four or seven years after the crucifixion, Christ was recognised as the risen Saviour, and worshipped as God at Jerusalem: there was no time left for the rise of a myth.² Well might Bunsen exclaim at the absurdity of the "idea of men writing mythical histories between the

Oswald
Dykes.

Bunsen.

¹ "Edinburgh Review," Vol. LXXXVI. p. 416.

² Dr. Dykes, "Brit. and For. Evan. Rev.," No. CXI. p. 60.

Milman.

times of Livy and Tacitus, and of St. Paul mistaking them for realities.”¹ A fact, the date of which is thrown back into a distant and dim past, may, in the course of centuries, originate a myth, but a period not exceeding a generation is far too short for the growth of a mythic theory. Dr. H. H. Milman sensibly remarks that “the best answer to Strauss is to show that a clear, consistent, and probable narrative can be formed out of that of the four Gospels, without more violence, I will venture to say, than any historian ever found necessary to harmonise for contemporary chronicles of the same events, and with accordance with the history, customs, habits, and opinions of the times, altogether irreconcilable with the poetic character of mythic history.”² The most singular fact connected with Strauss’s theory is that, in his opinion, the essence of Christianity is entirely independent of it. “The supernatural birth of Christ, His miracles, His resurrection and ascension, remain eternal truths, however their reality as historical facts may be called in question.”³ Strauss’s new theory appeared in 1872, in a work entitled “The Old Faith and the New,” which has been fitly described as “a virtual negation of all Christianity and of all Theism, and a bold, arrogant assertion of a downright godless Materialism, as the only religion worthy of a scientific age.”⁴ Strauss’s theory was considerably modified by *Wasse*, *Gfrörer*, and by *Bruno Bauer*; the latter regarded the mythical theory as a castle in the air, but insisted on the unhistorical character of the Gospels, while admiring their beauty from an æsthetical point of view, as exhibiting poetic

¹ Arnold’s Life by Stanley, p. 396.

² “History of Christianity,” Vol. I. p. 121.

³ Preface to “Leben Jesu.”

⁴ “Edinburgh Review,” Vol. CXXXVIII. p. 539.

truth. In his opinion, the Evangelists invented their Gospels with free consciousness, and yet were not impostors in the old sense of the term, for the ideas in the Gospels were the true representation of their feelings.¹ *The Mythical Theory*, abandoned by its author and explained away by his friends and advisers, though it enjoyed a temporary popularity, as a theory easy to understand and refer to in the daily talk of the superficially learned in the small wares of sceptical literature, at last perished under the searching criticism of the Tübingen school.²

3. *Secondly.* The *Tendency* theory of the *Tübingen* school, of which *Dr. F. C. Baur* was the founder, is no doubt the most learned of all the German schools. *Baur* commences his inquiries fettered by his own philosophical system, along with those of *Schleiermacher*, *Fichte*, and, above all, of *Hegel*. These philosophies are said to be apparent in his historical treatises, upon which his critical conclusions are founded. We Englishmen find it very difficult to understand the brief sketch of the leading principles of the Hegelian philosophy as given by *Baur*. "The most general presupposition of *Hegel's* system of religious philosophy, is the idea that history is a process by means of which, as it were, God, the absolute Spirit, comes to Himself, and gains the knowledge and possession of the contents of His own being. God cannot be considered as a living concrete God, without ascribing to Him an inner movement belonging essentially to His nature; and the finite mind is merely one other form assumed by the absolute mind in its passage to the full knowledge and possession of

Tendency
theory
of the
Tubingen
school.

Baur and
the Hege-
lian philo-
sophy.

¹ Ebrard, pp. 482, 483.

² Dorner's "History of Protestant Theology," Vol. II. pp. 416, 417; Fisher's "Supernatural

Origin of Christianity," pp. 339—432; Christlieb's "Modern Doubt," 8vo, 1874, pp. 379—425.

itself.”¹ In *Hegel's* opinion our intellect is moulded by the “*ideas*” of Christianity; and that the “*ideas*,” the metaphysical and eternal truths, are the only important things: the facts as recorded, and the persons by whom they are recorded, being of little importance. All religions, even Christianity, are simply the manifestations in time, of certain religious conceptions which incarnate themselves in facts. Thus the *ideas* are the foundation of Christianity; Jesus regarded as the Messiah, and His resurrection believed by the disciples. The essential truth of Christianity is the recognition in the human consciousness of Christ { and of His followers of the grand, permanently-existing idea of a perfect union of the human and Divine nature, and of a redemption which is accomplished thereby, which Christianity has presented to the world, and has developed into a religion by associating it with the faith in the unearthliness of Jesus. But to have originated *the idea*, it was not necessary for the perfect union of the Divine and human to have existed in Jesus; it was only necessary for Him to have been the first to conceive *the idea* of it, and to have awakened to the consciousness of such a union. Hence *the idea*, not Jesus, is the foundation of Christianity. How Christianity originated, is decided in accordance with this philosophy. It is the ripe fruit of movement in the Eastern world, manifesting itself in the Greek philosophy, in some of the Jewish sects, and in the enlargement of the mental horizon favoured by the extent of the Roman empire. It was aided not by miracles—which cannot be accepted as facts, even if metaphysically proved to be possible—but by the belief in miracles; or, in other words, by *the*

¹ “British Quarterly,” Vol. XLV. Christlieb’s “Modern Doubt,” 8vo, p. 330 (on “Christian Gnosis”); 1874, p. 167.

idea. Christianity, in fact, according to Baur, "contains nothing which was not conditioned by a previous series of causes and effect; nothing that had not already previously secured recognition as a result of rational thought, as a need of the human heart, as a requirement of the moral consciousness." In *Baur's* criticisms on the New Testament, he is obliged, for the sake of his theory on the origin of the sacred books, to remodel the entire history of the early Church. Noticing the fact of the existence of differences in the opinions of the disciples of Christ on some minor points, he exaggerates them beyond all evidence. Stephen and the Hellenists are the forerunners of Paul and the liberal party, James and Peter the leaders of the Jewish party, and that all the books of the New Testament are more or less influenced by, and are in some cases the product of, this partisanship of the early Christian sects. Hence the school of *Baur*, under the influence of what is called "*the Tendency criticism*," gives up many books of the New Testament, because it thinks they contain doctrines which do not agree with the character of the teaching it assigns to each Apostle; while, on the other hand, Renan would retain them for the precise reason that they exhibit natural and legitimate variations of doctrine.¹

4. The results of this system of Biblical criticism in the application of its leading principle to the books of the New Testament is given by *Schwegler*, and made clear to English readers in the classical work of Westcott on the Canon of the New Testament, the substance of which is as follows.²

(I) *The genuine and Apostolical books* are: the *Apoca-*

¹ Fisher's "Supernatural Origin of Christianity," pp. 205—338; Bishop Lightfoot on the Galatians, pp. 283—355; Dorner's

"Protestant Theology," 8vo, Vol. II. pp. 410—413.

² "Westcott on the Canon," 4th Ed. pp. 6, 7.

Schwegler's application of Baur's system to the New Testament

lypse (the Ebionite school), four Epistles of Paul—the *Corinthians* 1st and 2nd, *Galatians* and *Romans*, except the last chapter. These books belong to the Pauline school.

(2) *The original sources of the Gospels* are: the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, of which our *Gospel of St. Matthew* is supposed to be a revision, made so late as A.D. 130—134, both of which favour the views of the *Ebionites*. In opposition to these the Pauline party acknowledge the *Gospel* adopted by *Marcion*, and the *Gospel by Luke*.

(3) *Supplementary writings* forged for party purposes. The *Epistle of James*, about 150 A.D., with the *Clementine Homilies*, the *Apostolical Constitutions*, and the second *Epistle of Clement*, are all intended to conciliate the *Ebionites*. The *Gospel by Mark*, published soon after that of *Matthew*, the second *Epistle of Peter* and *Jude*, with the *Clementine recognitions*, are supposed to occupy a neutral position. On the *Pauline* side appeared the first *Epistle of Peter*, the *preaching of Peter*, the *Gospel of Luke* and the *Acts*, about 100 A.D.; *Romans* 15th and 16th chapters, the *Epistle to the Philippians*, and the first *Epistle of Clement*. After these appeared the *Pastoral Epistles*, and those of *Polycarp* and *Ignatius*, 130—150 A.D.; the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, about 100 A.D.; the *Epistles to the Colossians* and *Ephesians* a little later; the *Gospel and Epistles of John*, about 150 or 169 A.D., which are considered as exhibiting a peculiarly Asiatic development. Thus, according to this theory, all the books of the New Testament are simply party pamphlets, characterised by tendencies for or against the conservative *Ebionite* Judaising party, or the liberal party represented by Paul's Epistles. There is much in this trenchant criticism that reminds one of the last

results of "the Higher Criticism" as applied by *Graf*, *Kuenen*, *Wellhausen*, *Scholz* and by our English critics, *Davidson* and *Bishop Colenso*, to the Old Testament. According to them the Book of Deuteronomy is a forgery in aid of a revival of Mosaicism; while the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Chronicles, Ezra and parts of Nehemiah, are forgeries in favour of the extension of the priestly power and the ritualism of the Temple service. All these romances vanish before the touchstone of fact. The placing most of the books of the New Testament in the second century cannot for a moment be admitted by those who compare them with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, or of their successors in the second century. *De Wette's* remarks on the Tübingen school are to the point. "Extravagant criticism of this sort nullifies itself; and the only benefit arising from it is, that by exceeding all bounds, it awakens the feeling of a necessity for imposing self-restraint."¹

5. *Baur's* school is, however, no longer the ruling power in German criticism: *Zeller* and *Schwegler*, his most thorough followers, have given up both theology and Christianity. *Ritsch* and *Köstlin*, especially the latter, assume a position not in accordance with the *Tendency theory*, and the learned are gradually convincing themselves that the Gospels and Epistles are, after all that has been objected, the products of the first century: this is apparent from the rise of the *Mediation school* of criticism, of which *Hilgenfeld* is the representative. He admits that the majority of the books of the New Testament were of the age of the Apostles. *First*, the genuine writings of the Apostle Paul—1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Philemon, and the Philippians; *secondly*, the original Epistles by Apos-

Mediation
school of
criticism
by Hilgen-
feld. *L*

¹ Dickson's Preface to Meyer's "Romans," Vol. I. p. 9.

tolic men—*John*, i.e. the writer of the Apocalypse, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *James*; these represent a later school of reaction against the too free tendency of Paul's writings; *thirdly*, the *union* writings, conceived in the spirit of Paul, the *Gospel of Luke* and the *Acts*; *fourthly*, the writings of the post-Apostolic period—the two *Epistles of Peter*, the *second to the Thessalonians*, the *Epistle to the Ephesians* and *Colossians*, *Jude*, the *Pastoral Epistles*, and the *Gospel* and *Epistles of the Deutero-John*.¹ This school, and all the varied forms of the *Baur* school, make *St. Paul* the real founder of Christianity. It will share the fate of its predecessors. Either we have a Divinely-inspired collection of documents in the New Testament, or we have nothing which can lay claim to the obedience of faith. When we turn aside from the well-accredited historical testimony of the three first centuries, we miss the element of certainty; and as one guess is as good as another, we may fix upon any date we please up to the end of the second century for the appearance of the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament.

Renan and the Romancist theory beyond criticism. 6. *Thirdly*. The *Romancist theory*, so called from the peculiar character of the writings of *Ernest Renan*, the accomplished Orientalist, author of the "Life of Jesus," the Apostles, St. Paul, &c., &c., which refer to the early history and literature of the Christian Church, to all of which, amid much that is valuable, he has given the tinge of romance and unreality, more creditable to the richness and vigour of his imagination than to the sobriety and correctness of his critical faculty. It would be as childish to criticise the facts of his "*Vie de Jésus*" by a reference to received authorities, as it would be to deal with Walter Scott and other historical

¹ "London Quarterly," Vol. XLIV. p. 330.

novelists as not confining themselves to strict historical truth. The romance writer must not be impleaded before the bar of the historical authorities. He had originally intended to write a history of doctrine, in which "the name of Jesus would hardly have been mentioned," as if "the religious revolution which bears the name of Christ could have happened without Christ."¹ He was saved from this grand omission by a year's residence in Palestine in 1860. It was in Galilee, he tells us, that "all that history which while I was at a distance seemed always to float in some unreal cloudland, assumed a body and a solidity which astonished me. The striking agreement of locality with text, the marvellous harmony of the evangelical ideal with the landscape which served it for a frame, were for me like a new revelation. I seemed to have before my eyes a fifth Gospel, torn, and yet legible; and henceforth, amid the narratives of Matthew and of Mark, instead of an abstract Being whom no one could say had even really existed, I saw an admirable human form actually live and move." His faith in the mythical theory of Strauss, so far as respects the personality of Jesus, is evidently shaken, but for the complete emancipation of his intellect from the bonds of a refined Pantheism we have yet to wait. There are passages in his writings so eloquently touching in reference to the awakening of Christian sympathies in a noble and tender nature by the influence of the character and teaching of Christ, that we are led to think of him as saying, like one of old, "*almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.*" But the principles assumed at the beginning of his work are incompatible with a

Renan's
visit to
Galilee.

¹ Fisher's "Supernatural Origin of Christianity," 8vo, 1870, p. 433; Christlieb's "Modern Doubt," pp. 425—440; "Row's "Christian Evidences," &c., 8vo, 1877.

Renan's
critical
opinions.

candid examination of evidence : the *first* being, that there neither is nor can be a miracle, consequently the Gospel histories are "legendary;" the *second* is, that no history whatever, sacred or profane, can be strictly true, a notion which justifies the working up of fragmentary history into a romance ; and *thirdly*, that the test of a true representation is its coherence and consistency, which is, in fact, no test at all : the true history, from the paucity of our information, may appear incoherent, while a fiction may be perfectly clear and perspicuous to the most critical reader. The critical opinions of M. Renan are unimportant ; his common sense and refined taste rejected the Higher Criticism of the Rationalistic school as to the date and genuineness of the Gospels. He regarded them as the products of the first century, written for the most part by the men whose names they bear : Matthew before the destruction of Jerusalem, Mark and Luke shortly after, John at the close of the century, or, if not by him, by his disciples. But criticism is not the strong point in M. Renan's work. It owes its popularity to the beauty of its style ; every page shines and sparkles, reflecting his own brilliant imagination. To a large proportion of the reading population of France the subject was altogether novel, and to them it gave a tangible notion of the main facts of the Gospel history, though a very imperfect one. To the educated English reader the "*Vie de Jésus*" is a sort of prose epic, and as such, a work of imagination founded on fact, not amenable to the ordinary laws of historical criticism. As a faithful history and picture of Jesus Christ, it is a failure in spite of its artistic form. No one who has any acquaintance with the Gospels and early Christian literature will believe that Jesus was merely an uneducated Jewish peasant, whose mind rapidly developed

through the contemplation of Jewish history and prophecy, until He was so far influenced by His deep feeling to regard Himself as the Messiah foretold by the prophets, to give Himself out as a Teacher sent from God, and to call to His attendance the disciples and others, much less that after He had been crucified by the priests and rulers, the fiction of His resurrection arose from the hallucination of Mary Magdalen, who fancied she had seen Him. The Jesus of M. Renan is not the Jesus of the Gospels—the Man—the God-Man—tempted in all respects as we are, “*yet without sin.*” In all the Quarterly Reviews there have appeared articles of great power on M. Renan’s “Romance”—articles which ought to be reprinted for the benefit of a large class of the indiscriminate worshippers of intellect, whose religious susceptibilities are satisfied when a polished sceptic admires and compliments, and in his way appears to patronise Him whom Christians are bound to receive as the Lord Jesus Christ. A weekly journal, which has won its high position by the force of principle and talent, entered its protest against the “religious syrup” which M. Renan’s admirers called the “constructive and sympathetic criticism” in his Hibbert lectures. We quote verbatim: “We are weary, we confess, of these honeyed phrases, when they are lavished upon a religion the kernel of which is regarded by their coiner as something essentially untrue. It is all very well to assail Gibbon, and compare Renan with him, to the latter’s advantage, and to Gibbon’s great disadvantage. But after all, was not Gibbon, if in many respects the narrower, in many respects also the sincerer historical teacher of the two? He, like M. Renan, thought the Christian revelation founded in the deepest error. And he sneered at the error, where M. Renan falls into rap-

The Jesus
of Renan
not the
Jesus of
the
Gospels.

tures at the sweetness and radiance of the natures it displays. Now, we do not mean to say for a moment that those who regard Christianity as justified only by the ideal sentiments in which it is so rich, are obliged, because they regard these sentiments as closely bound up with a mass of historical illusions, to despise the golden fruit which, in their opinion, the credulity of the first disciples bore. Let them do justice, by all means, to the noble ideal extracted from what they think so strange and wild a dream. But surely for those who regard even the Christian morality and spiritual teaching as nothing more than one partial and rather arbitrary aspect of the eternal substance of the universe, and who think Christian belief, as a representation of the Divine intellect, character, and will, ludicrously imperfect and credulous, it is hardly becoming to speak of it as if it were impossible to love it too much, even though they patronise it condescendingly. Whether Christ were what He held Himself to be, or what M. Renan regards Him as being, in neither case is the vision which inspired His life fitly described as 'the sweet Galilean vision.' If Christ were really what we hold Him to be,—one who, being in the form of God, thought it not a thing to be grasped at to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took on Him the form of a servant, in order to raise human life up to His own level,—there was much more in His teaching that was not sweet than that was sweet, much more that was severe, much more that savoured of the fire which He came to send on earth, and which He saw in spirit already kindled, than of that mere fragrant and gorgeous lily of Eastern imagination, to which M. Renan is so much in the habit of comparing it. There is something in the honeyed words which these

Pantheists of the new culture use about Christianity, that seems to us worse than the bitterest sneers of the old infidelity.”¹

7. *Fourthly.* *The Hypercritical theory of the author of “Supernatural Religion”* (an inquiry into the reality of Divine revelation)² met at first with a jubilant reception, not only from professed sceptics, but from others from whom a more just and impartial judgment might have been expected. We may account for this from the character of the work, which gives the result of varied reading and research in reference to topics not of general interest, and with minute criticisms upon writings familiar only to a limited section of ecclesiastical writers. Hence, in the judgment of charity, without an attempt to test the accuracy or fitness of the references, or to weigh the conclusions, there were found those who declared the work to be not only erudite and elaborate, which is not far from the truth, but also logical, fair, impartial, and correct in its references and quotations, which is far from being the case. *The first volume* commences with a dissertation on the impossibility of the supernatural, which if proved would render all inquiries into the verity of the Gospels unnecessary, as in all of them the narrative is specially miraculous. In *this and the following volume*, the evidences in favour of the existence of the Synoptical Gospels in the early age of Christianity, and which we suppose are found in the writings of the ante-Nicene Fathers, are subjected to a most minute examination, and the result to which he comes is that he cannot find “a single distinct trace of any of the Gospels during the first century and a half

Hypercritical theory of the author of “Supernatural Religion.”

¹ “Spectator,” April 19th, 1880, Vol. 1877. A new edition in Three No. 2702. Vols. in 1879.

² Two Vols. 8vo, 1872. Third

after the death of Jesus." The remainder of *the second volume* is devoted to the *fourth* Gospel, and again the result of his investigation is, that "whilst there is not one particle of evidence, during a century and a half after the events recorded in the fourth Gospel, that it was composed by the son of Zebedee, there is on the other hand the strongest reason for believing that he did not write it." *The third volume* applies a similar criticism to the Acts of the Apostles, especially to the fact of the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, and with similar results. The author is of opinion that the sublime morality of the Gospels embodied in the teachings of Christ, remain unaffected by the results of his destructive criticism, and that Christianity, minus the miraculous and the Divine and supernatural elements, will find a more easy access to the belief of the human race. A work of such pretensions, written from the standpoint of pure Naturalism, in which the author professed to have made discoveries which had escaped the notice of the *Lardners*, *Paleys*, *Westcotts*, *Lightfoots*, and others of our age and of that preceding, as well as that of all the scholars of ancient and modern times, must appear to all intelligent persons as a case of self-confidence, promising too much. One might believe in a flaw in the inferences, a mistake as to the bearing of this or that passage on the part of previous critics, but to suppose that the great scholars of past ages had not perceived what the author of the "Supernatural" asserts he has discovered, viz., the universal failure of the evidences in favour of the existence of the Gospels, &c., which had been drawn from the well-known Fathers and others of the first 150 years of our era, was beyond the belief of all readers with any pretensions to scholarship.

8. These pretensions were soon submitted to a rigid

scrutiny. (1) *Dr. Joseph B. Lightfoot*, then Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and now Bishop of Durham, commenced in 1875 a series of articles in the "Contemporary Review," in which the following points were considered with the wit and sarcasm of Pascal, and the learning of a Bentley of the nineteenth century. The *first* article was devoted to an examination of the learning of the author of the work, "Supernatural Religion," and other qualifications which careless reviewers had liberally imagined him to possess; the *second* article was an examination of the silence of *Eusebius* in reference to many points of importance in the chain of literary evidence; the *third*, *fourth*, *fifth*, and *sixth* are occupied with the controversies respecting the *Ignatian* epistles, *Polycarp*, and *Papias*; the *seventh* with the later school of St. John; the *eighth* with the Church in Gaul; and the *ninth* with *Tatian's* "Diatesaron." The articles, we hope, will be continued; but we fear more than we dare hope.

Bishop
Lightfoot.

(2) The *Rev. C. A. Row, M.A.*, Prebend of St. Paul's Cathedral, in his work, "The Supernatural in the New Testament Possible, Credible, and Historical,"¹ and in his subsequent Bampton Lecture for 1877, entitled "Christian Evidence Used in Relation to Modern Thought,"² has at some length, and with great acuteness, though incidentally, met the charges of the author of "Supernatural Religion."

C. A. Row.

(3) The *Rev. W. Sanday, M.A.*, in his work, "The Gospels in the Second Century,"³ has examined the critical portion of the "Supernatural Religion," in which the authorities quoted and the criticism are fully discussed.

W. Sanday.

(4) The *Rev. F. M. Sadler, M.A.*, in his work "The

F. M.
Sadler.

¹ 8vo, 1875.

² 8vo, 1877.

³ 8vo, 1876.

Lost Gospel and its Contents: or, The Author of 'Supernatural Religion' Refuted by Himself."¹ These works are of the highest importance.

(5) Valuable articles appeared in *the leading Quarterlies*: "The Edinburgh Review,"² the "British Quarterly,"³ the "British and Foreign Quarterly,"⁴ the "London Quarterly,"⁵ and in Westcott's "Canon of the New Testament."⁶ All these replies refer to the first and second volumes of the "Supernatural Religion." The third volume has not called forth any special notice, as it contained no new evidence in favour of the author's views which had not been met by Christian apologists and commentators.

The
leading
Quarterlies
and
Westcott.

9. The grand argument of the author of the "Supernatural Religion," and which occupies so large a part of his work, is that "a supernatural religion is an essentially incredible and impossible thing; for it involves the idea of a personal God interfering with the established order of the world, an idea which 'science' forbids us to entertain." The subsidiary argument is quite unnecessary if the first be admitted as conclusive; it is that "there is no local evidence of the actual appearance of a personage displaying such power, wisdom, and goodness as belong to our conceptions of God, as the four Gospels to which Christians appeal as authentic, were not compiled till the second century."⁷ The denial of miracles is consistent with those who deny the possibility of supernatural interference, and with such only. Some men of science have said rash things on this subject, but modern science

¹ 8vo, 1876.

² Vol. CCLI. p. 432.

³ Vol. LX. p. 278.

⁴ Vol. XXIV. p. 169.

⁵ Vol. XLIV. p. 327.

⁶ Fourth Edition. Preface.

⁷ "Edinburgh Review," Vol. CCLI. p. 507; "London Quarterly," Vol. XLIV. p. 372.

has not committed itself to such an absurd negative. The critical portion of the work consisted of a minute examination of twenty-three documents, the writings of the Fathers and others of the first one hundred and fifty years of our era, documents to which the orthodox school had been accustomed to appeal as evidences of the knowledge of the early existence of the Gospels and Epistles ; the conclusions arrived at by the author have been already stated, and is such as might be expected from the author's mode of procedure. His inquiry is a continual begging the question on the points at issue. If the quotation from the Fathers under examination be one professedly taken by name from one of our Gospels, then it is asserted that the names Matthew, Mark, &c., refer to some gospels so called, but not to our Gospels. If a quotation from a gospel vary ever so little from the words of our Gospels, it is assumed that the quotation is taken from some lost or apocryphal gospel, though it is notorious that this free mode of quotation from memory was the rule in those days. If, on the other hand, the reference is to passages which are identical with those in our Gospels, then the quotation is assigned to some old authority used by the compilers of the Gospels. With such a logician, who reasons in a circle, it is impossible to deal as on fair grounds. The long list of references to authorities has excited the suspicion of the learned and led to their examination. Some appear to have been taken second-hand, without acknowledgment, from well-known publications, as, for instance, twenty-six from Bleek's "Introduction to the New Testament," and twenty-five from Cureton's "Ignatian Epistles." Some references in proof of the writer's position assert the very contrary to that which they are quoted to support. The name of Canon Cook is mistaken for a German writer,

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and a name and a work assigned to him with a German title ; the same, also, in the case of Reuss, the French critic. These blunders and the mistranslations which have been so thoroughly exposed by Bishop Lightfoot and Westcott are not creditable to the scholarship of the author of "Supernatural Religion." The reply to his criticism and the inferences drawn from them is to be found in the catena of authors quoted by *Lardner* and *Westcott*, and again clearly set forth in the chronological and analytical list of Christian writers from Clement to Tertullian, which is contained in the appendix to *Sanday's* "Gospels in the Second Century." The utter uselessness of such a line of argument as is contained in the work, "Supernatural Religion Examined," &c., and its unfitness to shake the foundations of Christianity, are obvious, from a consideration of the unimportant results which would follow were all his points fully proved. They would be simply a conviction that the early Christian writers were very incompetent critics, and that their testimony afforded no satisfactory proof of the existence of the books of the New Testament in their day. We have already remarked in the preceding chapter that these references on the part of the early Fathers are mainly of importance in their bearing upon the literary history of the early Church ; on the truth or otherwise of the narrative of the four Gospels, their value is but secondary. With the four undisputed Epistles of St. Paul, we can meet our adversaries *in the gate*, but they are bound to explain, on their principles, the fact of the existence of the books of the New Testament, their general, and at last their universal, reception by the Christian Church. Whether our Gospels be so early as *all evidence* would imply, or whether they be the product of the second

century, we have four Epistles of St. Paul, which the Higher Criticism, and even scepticism, admits to be genuine. These writers, just after the first half of the first century, allude to *all the leading facts and teachings contained in* the Synoptical Gospels, and are of themselves sufficient to prove, not only the early origin of Christianity, but also the fact, which has not been sufficiently noticed, that the doctrines taught by Paul, and the miracles believed by Paul, were also accepted and taught by the Apostles Peter and James and John, within four to seven years after the resurrection.¹ So far as Christian evidences are concerned, too much importance has been attached to the disquisition of the author of "Supernatural Religion." Its bearing is properly upon matters of literary evidence, rather than of Christian belief.

10. *Fifthly.* Among minor and secondary offshoots of the sceptical school which, from the position of the writers, obtained a brief circulation and then were forgotten, Shenkel and Keim, though they contain much that is valuable, differ little from the Rationalistic school.² The *Duke of Somerset*, in 1872, published a small volume, entitled "Christian Theology and Modern Scepticism," in which, while admitting the Divinity of Christianity and its moral power, he objects to the miraculous narrative in the Gospels, and to much of the *dogma* of Christian theology. *Earl Russell*, in 1873, published an essay on the Christian religion, in which, despite the feebleness of a prolonged old age, he settles, to his own satisfaction, questions the most profound: this outbreak of the estimable friend of civil and religious liberty removes

Duke of Somerset and other of the minor writers against the New Testament history, &c.

¹ Dr. Oswald Dykes, in "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," No. CXI. p. 61.

² See Christlieb's "Modern Doubt," pp. 353, 373.

one of Sydney Smith's alarms at the absence of all moral fear in the Lord John of his day, ready at a moment's notice to operate on a patient for the stone, or to take the command of the Channel fleet! What would not the witty friend have said could he have known of this additional instance of the absence of moral fear! *Lord Amberly*, the eldest son of Earl Russell, is the author of a posthumous work, entitled "The Analysis of Religious Belief,"² published by his executors after his death. These works have been mercifully treated by all the critics, from a natural regard for the memory of a family which has deserved well of the State. They are not without their use as exhibiting the shallow current of thought on religious subjects, which is observable in many educated persons whose early culture had been under the influence of the scepticism of the last century. Some remarks from one of our leading quarterlies are pertinent to this subject, and may be read with advantage by our advanced minds. "The whole system of pseudo-critical scepticism begins at the wrong end. The true critic examines first the evidence by which the genuineness and authority of the Bible is established, and then he approaches the difficulties suggested by its contents. Internal evidence on the negative side must be absolutely overwhelming to outweigh the direct evidence of testimony; and even in such a case the negative conclusion is not fully justified till at least the chief flaws in the external evidence are exposed. But modern scepticism passes over the question of testimony, resting its case on internal difficulties alone." "In conclusion, we repeat that our only reason for noticing a book (the Duke of Somerset's 'Christian Theology,' &c.) which has so little to recom-

¹ Two Vols. 8vo, 1876.

mend it to the serious inquirer—whether sceptic or not—is to hold up to the light of day the intolerance and dogmatism which characterise some of the sceptical school. The bigotry which was formerly imputed to the theologian is very often now observable in the sceptic. But “it is not to be endured,” to use the words of Dr. Arnold, “that scepticism should run at once into dogmatism, and that we should be required to doubt with as little discrimination as we were formerly called upon to believe.”¹

II. Christianity has nothing to fear from the utmost freedom of legitimate criticism. This has been shown in an article in the “Church of England Quarterly.”² “We may make our way through all the minute subtleties of such investigations unharmed and undisturbed if we lay hold on certain broad principles, implicitly held in earlier Christian times, and brought into the position of axioms, by believing investigation. Such principles are these :

Cautionary Canon of criticism from the “Church of England Quarterly.”

(I.) “The sacred historians reproduce historical events, not with a minute and slavish literality, but with that larger and freer truth which interprets the spirit and reproduces the life of every transaction. Their work resembles the freedom of the painter rather than the stiff rigid lines of the mechanical draftsman.”

“*Corollary A.*—Believing criticism is not concerned with forcing every detail of the Gospels into an unnatural harmony. Inspiration, such as it is in fact, may and does coexist with two or three ways of telling an incident in parallel passages: *e.g.*, the number of the cock-crowings, or the words of the title placed over the cross.”

¹ “Quarterly Review, Vol. CXXXII. p. 435.

² No. XVIII. p. 326.

“Corollary B.—Inspiration, such as it is in fact, may and does coexist with omissions, and incompleteness of detail. We have no right to assume that an Evangelist is ignorant of that which lies outside the leading ideas of his narrative. Thus M. Renan more than once says that St. John knew nothing of the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem.” (See, on the contrary, John vii. 42.)

“Corollary C.—Inspiration, such as it is in fact, may and does coexist with defects of texts; nay, with defects of style and literary form. The *difficulty* of St. Paul is noted by St. Peter (2 Pet. iii. 16).”

“Corollary D.—Inspiration, such as it is in fact, may and does coexist with the ordinary conditions of careful historical research (Luke i. 1—4).”

“Corollary E.—Inspiration, such as it is, may and does exist without any exact, formal, elaborate definition of its nature and extent. Those who receive the Gospels, receive indeed the assurance that the Holy Ghost brought to the remembrance of the Apostles all things whatsoever Christ had said (John xiv. 26). We are sure that we have the very sum and substance of the words of Jesus.”

(II.) We have indicated above that if all the written Gospels were placed at the latest date that has ever been assigned them, if it could be proved that St. John's Gospel was written many years after the beloved disciple's death, by some one who took up the pen to write in his name, and for his honour, a Gospel which might be considered to represent his tradition, enough of evidence would still be left for the life of Christian faith. Much more does it follow, that if all the deductions were made which have been definitely called for by the most severely captious criticism, within the limits of

reasoning, as distinct from mere negation, that which has been called *the pragmatic, i.e.*, the primitive historical Gospel, would still exist, minus matter to the amount of about eight chapters. That is, we should still have eighty-one chapters admitted to be authentic by the most frigid professor of the severest modern exegesis."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SYNOPTICAL GOSPELS—THEIR ORDER, ORIGIN, AND COMPOSITION.

The
Synoptical
Gospels.

I. We have four Gospels, all of them brief memoirs of our Lord, not full biographies ; three of them are mainly devoted to the ministry in Galilee, while the fourth gives a large space to the ministry in Judæa, which Matthew scarcely notices. All of these give an account of our Lord's baptism, only one refers to His childhood ; many discourses recorded by Matthew and Luke are not found in John. The history of our Saviour's public life begins in His thirtieth year. Of the transactions of the three and a half years succeeding, the history of the last six months takes up about one half of the contents of the Gospels, and that of the last week forms about the third or fourth part of the narrative. Nothing appears to have been written by our Lord Himself. Of His sayings there are twenty-two reported which are not found in the Gospels ; the list of these may be seen in Westcott's "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels."¹ One is quoted by St. Paul (Acts xx. 35), "*It is more blessed to give than to receive.*"

Order of
the
Synoptical
Gospels.

2. The order in which the several Gospels are generally placed in the collection called the New Testament, is that in which they now stand in the Greek Textus Receptus, and in the English Versions. In a few MSS. of the old Vulgate, and in a Codex, Greek and Latin (Cantabrig.), and in the MS. of the Gothic Version, the

¹ "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," crown 8vo, 1867.

order is Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. In one MS., and in several Latin versions, the order is Matthew, John, Mark, Luke. Origen and the Syriac MSS. give the order as Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke. Modern Criticism differs on this point, as may be seen by the following arrangements proposed, and the authorities by which they are supported, viz. :—

(1) *The generally received order*: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; advocated by *Grotius, J. Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Hug, Augusti, Seiler, Credner, Hengstenberg, Hilgenfeld, Da Costa, Townson, Greswell, Birks*, and most English critics.

(2) Matthew, Luke, Mark, John; advocated by *Henry Owen, Griesback, Bleek, Olshausen, De Wette, Strauss, Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, Döllinger, Köstlin, Kahnis, Saunier, Theile, Fritzsche, Sieffert, Stroth, Gfrörer, Neudecker, Kern, Schwartz*.

(3) Mark, Matthew, Luke, John; advocated by *Smith, of Jordan Hill, Stoor, Ewald, Reuss, Thiersch, Schenkel, Eichthel, Weisse, Caspari, Lachmann, Wittichen, Holtzmann, Weissäcker, E. A. Abbott*.¹

(4) Mark, Luke, Matthew, John; advocated by *Wilke, Bruno Baur, Hitzig, Volkman*.

(5) Luke, Matthew, Mark, John; advocated by *Busching, Edward Evanson*.

(6) Luke, Mark, Matthew, John; advocated by *Vogel*. These "examples in permutations," as Fisher calls them, are instances of the uncertain results of subjective, conjectural criticism.²

3. Matthew, Mark, and Luke are termed *the Synoptical Gospels*, because they relate the history of our Lord's life on one general plan from one point of view, in which,

Synoptical Gospels, why so called; their verbal agreements and differences

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," article "Gospels," Ninth Edition.

² Fisher's "Supernatural Origin of Christianity," p. 154.

while the same narrative is severally exhibited, they yet present the history of our Lord under the same aspect. The verbal agreements and differences in the phraseology of these three Gospels are equally striking, and the more so as these writers are perfectly independent of each other in the selection of their subjects. The extent of these agreements and differences may be estimated from the minute calculations of modern critics ; for instance, (1) Suppose the Synoptical Gospels to be harmonised in one common narrative, and divided into eighty-nine sections, then, in forty-two of these all the narratives coincide both in the facts and the language in which they are expressed, twelve more are given by Matthew and Mark only, five are common to Mark and Luke alone, and fourteen to Matthew and Luke ; five are peculiar to Matthew, two to Mark, and nine to Luke.¹ (2) Reuss, quoted by Archbishop Thomson, gives another calculation, which he deems more exact. Matthew contains three hundred and thirty verses, Mark sixty-eight, and Luke five hundred and forty-one, which are peculiar to them. Matthew and Mark have from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and eighty verses which are not found in Luke ; Matthew and Luke have two hundred and thirty to two hundred and forty verses which are not in Mark ; Luke and Mark have fifty verses which are not found in Matthew. (3) *Dr. S. Davidson* divides these Gospels into one hundred and thirty-three sections, of which fifty-eight are common to all, twenty-six to Matthew and Mark, seventeen to Mark and Luke, thirty-two to Matthew and Luke. Chronological order is not strictly followed, but in the arrangement of facts, Mark generally agrees with Luke rather than with

¹ Archbishop Thomson's Introduction to the New Testament, "Speakers' Commentary," Vol. I. p. viii.

Matthew. (4) Professor Andrew Norton remarks that "by far the larger portion of this verbal agreement is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus." The minute calculations as to the proportion of the narrative portion of each Gospel, in comparison with the portion taken up by the reports of the words of our Lord and others, curious and possibly useful, but the correctness of which it is very difficult to verify, may be found in the work of *Norton*. Where the Evangelists speak in their own persons, the verbal agreement is rare and scarcely perceptible.¹

4. Great stress has been laid upon the agreement and differences found in the phraseology and other matter found in the Synoptical Gospels, as data for the formation of sundry theories *on the origin and composition of the Gospels*: to these we must now refer.

Origin and composition of the Synoptical Gospels.

I. The theory of *one original Gospel in Aramean, or Syro-Chaldaic*, advocated by Lessing first, then by Corrodi, Weber, Niemeyer, Thies, Herder, &c. *J. F. Bleek*² advocates an *Ur-evangelium*, a primitive Gospel written in Galilee, and in Greek, from which, as a basis, Matthew and Luke were formed. Lessing fixed on the Gospel of the Hebrews as the common source. Schwegler, of the Tübingen school, inclines to this theory, and thinks that our Gospel of Matthew is formed upon this Gospel of the Hebrews. The following are the modifications of this theory of one original Gospel in Aramean.³

First theory: one original Gospel.

(a) *Eichhorn* supposes that by a series of revisions of this original Gospel there arose—No. 1, the basis of Matthew; No. 2, the basis of Luke; No. 3, combined with

¹ "Norton on the Gospels," Vol. I. p. 240.

² "Intro. to the New Test., Vol. I. pp. 279—292; Eberard, p. 21.

³ Davidson's "Introduction to the New Testament," Vol. I. p. 386.

Nos. 1 and 2, formed the basis of Mark ; No. 4, used by Matthew and Luke when they agree with one another and differ from Mark. This scheme does not account for the verbal agreement in the Greek Gospels.

(b) *Bishop Marsh*, in order to meet this obvious objection, put forth another hypothesis of great complexity. No. 1, an Aramean Gospel ; No. 2, a Greek translation ; No. 3, a translation with additions ; No. 4, another Greek translation ; No. 5, a use of Nos. 3 and 4 as a basis for Mark ; No. 6, a version of No. 3 with additions as a basis for Matthew ; No. 7, a version of No. 4 with other additions as a basis for Luke ; No. 8, a supplementary Hebrew writing used by Matthew and Luke.

(c) *Eichhorn's second hypothesis*, framed to remedy the deficiencies of his former one, is approved by *Ziegler*, *Hänlein*, *Kuinöel*, and *Bertholdt*. It is as follows : No. 1, an Aramean Gospel ; No. 2, a Greek translation ; No. 3, a recension of No. 1 for Matthew ; No. 4, a Greek translation of Nos. 3 and 2, used at the same time ; No. 5, another recension of No. 1 for Luke ; No. 6, a writing springing out of Nos. 3 and 5 for Mark ; No. 7, a third recension of No. 1 for Matthew and Luke ; No. 8, a translation of No. 7, using No. 2 at the same time ; No. 9, an Aramean Gospel of Matthew from Nos. 1 and 7 ; No. 10, a Greek translation from No. 9, with Nos. 4 and 8 ; No. 11, Mark formed out of No. 6 with Nos. 4 and 5 ; No. 12, Luke out of Nos. 5 and 8.

(d) *Gratz* simplified this complex hypothesis by suggesting—No. 1, a Hebrew original Gospel ; No. 2, a Greek original Gospel arising out of it with many additions ; No. 3, shorter evangelical documents ; No. 4, Mark and Luke were composed from Nos. 2 and 3 being consulted ; No. 5, the Hebrew Matthew, which sprung from No. 1, with additions partly independent and partly from the

document agreeing partially with the genealogy in Luke; No. 6, a Greek version of the Hebrew Matthew, in which Mark was used; No. 7 interpolations in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, by a transference of sections from the one to the other.

(c) *Rev. E. A. Abbott, D.D.*,¹ supposes (1) "A document containing words of the Lord, which had existed long enough, and had acquired authority enough, to induce two editors or writers of Gospels (Matthew and Luke), apparently representing different schools of thought, and writing for different Churches, to borrow from it independently. This last conclusion is of the greatest importance; for though the document (which he calls '*The Double Tradition*') may be and certainly was later than '*The Triple Tradition*,' yet it would have the advantage of preserving the original utterances of the Lord comparatively unimpaired by traditional transmutations." (2) An original document, the embodiment of early traditions (which he calls "*The Triple Tradition*"), on which he supposes the three Synoptical Gospels are based. Mark is the earliest Gospel, then Matthew, both of them written before the fall of Jerusalem; Luke long after, say A.D. 80. Both Matthew and Luke were enriched by additions from "*The Double Tradition*." To this latter document, which, as before stated, has preserved the original utterances of the Lord, the highest character is given. "When to this consideration is added the authoritative nature of the words of the Lord in this document, their direct reference to events, and the extreme improbability that any disciple would have or could have invented them,—for which of the Apostles or subordinate disciples could have invented the discourse

¹ Article "Gospels," "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th Ed., 1879, pp. 801, 842.

on 'the lilies of the field,' or the lamentation over Jerusalem, or the speech which likens John to 'a reed shaken by the wind,' and pronounces him the greatest of the prophets, yet less than the least in the kingdom of God?—we are led to infer that in all probability we have in these additions of Matthew and Luke, a very close approximation to some of the noblest and most impressive utterances of Jesus Himself." In "The Double Tradition" we have simply a record of something like Papias's *λογία* of Matthew, and "The Triple Tradition" is only another name for a supposed original Gospel in Aramean or Greek. A friendly critic in the "Academy," one of our most valuable weekly literary journals, expresses what is probably the general opinion: "Dr. E. A. Abbott, in his article on the Gospels, expounds at great length, and with every show of precision, a theory which we believe has not found favour with his brother theologians either here or in Germany. His main position is that, from a *verbatim* comparison of the three Synoptical Gospels, it is possible to reconstruct an original text, prior to all three, from which they borrowed in various amounts. If a layman may be allowed to express an opinion, we are inclined to think that he has made out his case, subject always to this qualification—that no textual criticism of this word-by-word character can ever be conclusive. The fatal objection to these theories, founded on the supposition of the existence of an original Aramean Gospel, or of any other (equivalent to a Double or a Triple Tradition) independent of the Gospel of St. Matthew,¹ is that antiquity furnishes no evidence in support of the fact assumed. How is it, that while so many apocryphal Gospels have come down to us, these most important of

¹ Meyer's "Matthew," Vol. I. pp. 29, 30.

all (if they ever existed) can nowhere be found? No eye seems to have seen them, and no pen has referred to them; their existence is purely hypothetical."

5. The theory No. II., which assumes *the existence of several independent original Gospels*, such as those referred to by Luke (chap. i. 1), as the common source of the Synoptical Gospels, has been advocated by Le Clerc, Semler, Michaelis, Koppe, Schleiermacher (as to the third Gospel), Kaiser, Rettig, and others. It has recently assumed a definite form in the "Leben Jesu" of *Wittichen* (1876), which we give as quoted by the Archbishop of York in his "Introduction to the Speaker's Commentary of the New Testament:"—"When the need of a written record forced itself on the Church at Jerusalem, content hitherto with the traditional preaching of the Gospel which had gradually grown up, three separate writings embodying the traditional preaching were drawn up in Palestine, the ground-work of the future Gospels. The earliest of these was probably the original of St. Mark's Gospel. Next to this, and partly dependent on it, the work* which was used in common for our present Matthew and Luke; and thirdly, a work used by John alone, and unknown to the compiler of the original Matthew. It is convenient to designate them as A, B, and C. The next step is, that some other writer in Palestine, just before the destruction of Jerusalem, composed a Gospel by means of A as the groundwork, somewhat altered, however, as to its order, and with a few portions omitted, B being employed to furnish several insertions; this Gospel he calls Matthew I.; somewhat later, when Jerusalem had fallen, there was composed outside of Palestine a new Gospel, grounded on A, with numerous omissions, in combination with B and C, not without a few additions of

Second
theory:
several
original
Gospels.

the compiler, and with a new introduction. This Wittenichen would designate as Luke I.; it is the fifth in the series of contributions. Somewhat later still, the first Matthew was altered in Palestine, the first Luke in Rome. In this edition of Luke, use has been made of Matthew I., and also of the works of Josephus. Both received additions and alterations. Amongst these a history of the childhood was added to each. The last editor of Luke was also the author of the Acts, and through him this Gospel was used over the districts where St. Paul's preaching had come. The short preface was added by the same hand; thus our present Gospels according to Matthew and Luke came to completeness, and the number of documents mount up to seven. Somewhat later, the writing marked A underwent the process of editing, in which a number of small adaptations to the familiar expressions of Matthew II. were made, and several explanations added. Hence our present Gospel of St. Mark, the eighth document in the series, and happily the last."¹ We cannot sketch more of the various schemes, the product of the ingenuity of scholars, by which they endeavour to account most unnaturally for the verbal agreement or disagreement of the writers of the first three Gospels. With respect to the supposition of these several original Gospels, we ask for something like the shadow of a proof. There is none offered.

Third : the
supple-
mentary
theory.

6. *The supplementary theory*, No. III., supposes that the writers of the first three Gospels copied from one another, the second in order from its predecessor, and the third from the other two, and that the discrepancies are to be traced to the endeavour of each writer to correct the others. This theory does not differ

¹ "Speaker's Commentary, New Test.," Int., p. xviii.

much from the theory No. V., and has been countenanced (with some variations) by *Townson*, *Gresswell*, and *Birks*.

The theory No. IV., which regards *the oral teaching of the Apostles as the source of the Gospels*, finds in *Gieseler* (1818) its ablest exponent.¹ One part of this theory, quite unsupported by evidence, is that this oral tradition was fixed by Apostolic authority. Apart from this unfounded opinion, *Gieseler's* views are those of *Westcott* and other able critics. We may believe, with *Bishop Gleig*, that this oral teaching was the real document, and that much of it was from the remembrance of the very words spoken by our Lord Himself.

Final
theory :
oral
teaching
of the
Apostles.

But *have we no written Gospel by an Apostle?* It may be true that the work of the Apostles was to preach. So was this the case with St. Paul, "*in labours more abundant*" (2 Cor. xi. 23), and yet he wrote at least thirteen Epistles. Though, compared with Paul, the other Apostles were, in the Rabbinical sense of the term, unlettered men, they were not illiterate, nor ignorant, and their natural faculties had been enlarged under the training of the Great Teacher. *Matthew* especially, by his position in "the customs," must have been a ready penman. Tradition, and the imperfect scraps of history which have come down to our times, point to *him* as the author of a Hebrew, *i.e.*, Syro-Chaldee Gospel. There may be difficulties in connection with this supposition, but they are trifling compared with those which surround all the preceding hypotheses. We are the more inclined to believe in the old traditional history, from a conviction that it accords with the highest probability. Is it likely that for any lengthened period the Christian Churches would be content to rest on the oral teaching

Tradition
of a
written
Gospel by
Matthew.

¹ *Westcott's "Study of the Gospels," pp. 152—5.*

even of the Apostles, or their immediate agents? We know from Luke (chap. i. 1), that many written memoirs of our Lord's teaching, life, &c., were already current. Can we suppose that the Hebrew Christians, the mother Church, would be left without a memoir or Gospel by an Apostle? The common sense of *Le Clerc* led him to write his opinion to the contrary. "Those who think that the Gospels were written so late as Irenæus states (*i.e.*, 57—64 A.D.), and who suppose that for about the space of thirty years after our Lord's ascension there were many spurious Gospels in the hands of the Churches, and not one that was genuine and authentic, do unwisely cast a very great reflection upon the wisdom of the Apostles. For what could have been more imprudent in them than tamely to have suffered the idle stories about Christ to be read, and not to contradict them by some authentic history?"¹ The testimony to the fact of Matthew's authorship is given loosely by Eusebius. "Matthew also having first proclaimed the Gospel in Hebrew, when on the point of going also to other nations, committed it to writing in his native tongue, and thus supplied the want of his presence by his writings. . . ." *Eusebius* also informs us on the authority of a tradition, handed down to Apollonius, who lived at the close of the first and the beginning of the second century, "that the Saviour commanded His disciples not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years." *Epiphanius*, who wrote early in the fourth century, asserts that Matthew wrote his Gospel, by the advice of the Apostles, while he was yet in Palestine, eight years after the ascension of our Lord. On the other hand, Irenæus, who lived 175 A.D., states in a fragment preserved by

¹ "Clerici Hist. Ecc. Secula," A.D. 62, sec. 9. See also Dr. Townson's Works, Two Vols. 8vo, 1810, Vol. I. pp. 68—82.

Eusebius, that "Matthew produced his Gospel written among the Hebrews in their own dialect, whilst Peter and Paul preached the Gospel and founded the Church at Rome" (that is to say, about 57 to 64 A.D.).¹ Substantially, there is no contradiction in these statements of *Apollonius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Irenæus*. The date assigned by the latter to Matthew's Gospel, probably refers to the translation of it into Greek, as a Syro-Chaldæan Gospel would have been useless at Rome. *Eusebius* himself fixes the date of Matthew's Gospel as in the third year of Claudius, and the eighth after the ascension. We think that the *first*, *third*, and *fourth* of the theories may be to a great extent harmonised in connection with the old hypothesis of *Eckerman* and others, who thought that the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew embodied the oral account of our Lord's history and teachings, so that Mark and Luke, when collecting materials, received from eye-witnesses or from teachers such information as bore a striking resemblance in matter and form to the Gospel of Matthew. It seems more likely that Matthew's Gospel was the ground-work, the first written Gospel, rather than to suppose, with the Rev. E. R. Conder, that Peter's preaching at Rome was the foundation of the Synoptics.² All the remarks of this able divine are valuable in his Introduction to the New Testament in the "Biblical Educator." With one of them especially we heartily concur. "Mr. Westcott seems to have over-estimated the exclusion of literature in that age by oral teaching. It is true that the disciples of the Rabbins were forbidden to commit to writing their traditionary interpretations of the Mosaic law. But the books of Josephus may afford proof, if needed, that no such

Harmo-
nising of
the first,
third, and
fourth
theories
possible.

¹ Eusebius's "Eccles. History," Book V.

² "Biblical Educator," Vol. III. p. 146.

restriction could apply to memoirs of public events and discourses ; and any such restriction would have been at variance with the whole spirit and purpose of our Lord's ministry." We may add, that the Apostolical Epistles, and the reference in St. Luke's Gospel to the "*many*" who had undertaken to write histories of Christ, are proofs that no such restrictions had any weight with the first disciples.

7. The hypothesis which appears most probable, and which is to a great extent consistent with the *first*, *third*, and *fourth* of the theories, is that of *Dr. Thomas Townson*, author of "Discourses on the Gospels." It is, therefore, the fifth or union hypothesis (No. V.), and with him, and with that most respectable and industrious writer *Josiah Conder*, in his "Literary History of the New Testament,"¹ we think it highly probable that the Syro-Chaldaic Gospel of Matthew, sometimes referred to by *Eckerman*, &c., as the Gospel to the Hebrews, is that which we have in the Greek translated, or re-written, in our Canonical Gospel of Matthew. We refer with some pride to these works of our learned countryman, as specimens of plain sense, as well as of sound learning. On a point in which absolute proof is not possible, they have come to conclusions which are in substance reconcilable with the results of subsequent criticism. Views similar to those of *Townson* and *Conder* are advocated by the writer of an article in the "Edinburgh Review;" *Dr. Townson's* theory is fully stated with great clearness in the "Quarterly Review,"² from which we give the following pertinent extracts. "*Dr. Townson's* theory is this, that the four Gospels have been almost invariably

Fifth or
Union
Hypo-
thesis of
the origin
of the
Gospels.

¹ "Lit. Hist. New Test.," 1850 ; *Townson's* "Discourses on the Gospels," 1778, in his Works, Two Vols. 8vo, 1810.

² "Edinburgh Review," Vol. CXLI. pp. 493—500 ; "Quarterly Review," Vol. XLIV. p. 440.

placed, from the earliest times, in the order in which they were originally published. Again, the progress of Christianity was this (the history of it given in the Acts of the Apostles, were there no other written, testifies as much): it began with the Jews, who were the first Christian congregation; it proceeded to a mixed society, consisting both of Jews and Gentiles, who were the next; and it ended with a body composed of Gentiles chiefly, or altogether. Let us, then, observe whether the historical order of the Gospels does not tally with the historical progress of the cause which the Gospels advocate, deducing our argument from internal evidence only. Now, ST. MATTHEW, as compared with St. Mark, writes as though he was living in Judæa, amongst people who knew all the Jewish customs just as well as himself; who had the Temple before their eyes, and the offerings made in it; to whom the phraseology, the geography, and the local peculiarities of the Holy Land were perfectly familiar; above all, who partook of the Jewish expectations of a Messiah, and understood the numerous prophecies which were thought to relate to Him; for to them St. Matthew points the more frequently than the other Evangelists, and, indeed, makes it a very primary object to develop the prophetic Christ in Jesus of Nazareth. ST. MARK makes much more limited demands upon his reader's foreknowledge of this kind; he explains where St. Matthew is silent, and he accommodates—as it would seem—the narrative of the latter, in very many instances, to a different audience. . . . The changes to which texts in St. Matthew are subjected, when they reappear in St. Mark, are of a kind to show no less that he made them in accommodation to the Gentiles, than that he wrote after St. Matthew, . . . and for a new assembly consisting both of Jews and Gentiles.

Dr. Town-
son's hy-
pothesis.

. . . . But as years rolled on after the ascension of our Lord, the Church waxed more and more Gentile in its members ; whilst by internal evidence we determine ST. LUKE to have written after St. Mark, by internal evidence we determine him to have written chiefly, if not altogether, for a Gentile community. Thus, while St. Matthew traces up the genealogy of our Lord to David, (through David to Abraham), St. Luke goes on to Adam—the one being the Evangelist of the Jews, the other of all mankind. St. Luke marks the date of the Saviour's birth and of John's preaching by the reigns of the Roman Emperors ; he speaks with peculiar accuracy and frequency of the ejection of unclean spirits, the gods of the heathen ; he purposely waives an appeal to the Jewish law, where another Evangelist has introduced it (compare Luke vi. 31 and Matthew vii. 12 ; Luke xi. 42 and Matthew xxiii. 23) ; he sinks in his narrative circumstances which would have no interest for the Gentiles," &c.

The
"Edin-
burgh
Review."

8. The able writer in the "Edinburgh Review"¹ is in substantial accordance with *Dr. Townson*, as will appear from the summary of "all that has been brought together relating to the literary condition of the Church at the middle of the second century." Those results are as follows : "The three Synoptical Gospels . . . were not only extant but in public use in different sections of the Church at that time : they were, however, all considered as only one history—one 'Gospel' under various aspects ; the name given to them was simply 'Memoirs'—material for history, as we should say—and they were not regarded as orderly and regular biographies or 'Lives of Christ.' ST. MATTHEW was the Palestinian version of that narrative. It was written in the current tongue of the

¹ "Edinburgh Review," Vol. CXLI. pp. 493—501.

East, Syro-Chaldee, and was attributed to this obscure Apostle, the ex-taxgatherer, because (no doubt) he really wrote it, and thus applied for the Church's benefit his previously acquired skill with paper and ink. The many private translations of the work seem to have slightly varied in detail. . . . As to that particular recension of it that has come down to us, it is stamped with the unanimous approval of the Church only twenty-five years later on. . . . ST. MARK is the Roman form of the same story. It has accordingly very much in common with St. Matthew, is very full of Latinisms, and was apparently one of the two Gospels read publicly in the churches at Rome in Justin Martyr's time. ST. LUKE was the Pauline version of the same fundamental narrative. It was current only in churches where St. Paul's name was held in honour, and it was no doubt the work of that otherwise obscure follower and medical attendant on St. Paul to whom it has always been attributed. It belonged, therefore, especially to the Greek Christians, and was read (no doubt with slight variations) in the churches of Achaia, Macedonia, and Asia Minor." The same view of the order and character of the Gospels is taken by *Greswell* in his learned "Dissertation on the Principles and Arrangements of a Harmony of the Gospels,"¹ four vols. 8vo, 1830—1834. The "fundamental" principle of his work (the Harmony) is stated in the following propositions: (1) "That the three last Gospels are regular compositions; (2) That St. Matthew's Gospel is partly regular and partly irregular; (3) That each of the Gospels was written in the order in which it stood; (4) That the Gospels last written in any instance were supplementary to the prior."

Dr.
Greswell.

9. On this hypothesis of the acquaintance of the

¹ *Greswell*, Vol. I. p. 13.

Inspira-
tion of the
Gospels.

writers of the second and third Gospels with the preceding one, and the supplementary character of the latter to the former, we refer to the Gospels in their human element, especially. As Divinely inspired, according to the promise given (John xiv. 16, 17, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 12—15), the writers rise above the position of ordinary human fallible witnesses. Their testimony is one and the same, not of man merely, but of the Holy Spirit. Their own individuality and independency as human beings is noticeable in the supplementary facts, and prudent modifications of phraseology, to meet the various classes for whose use and thought they were particularly written. They do not contradict or correct one another ; their apparent differences arise out of each possessing a separate knowledge of minor facts and circumstances, and so telling the story each in his own way, and not as the mere copyist of his predecessor.¹ To suppose that all the three first Evangelists were unacquainted with the Gospels of one another, appears to be an assumption which has obtained currency from the supposed advantage of considering the Evangelists as separate and independent witnesses of the facts and truths of the Gospel history. This witness is not looked for from them. The Church looks to the one testimony of the Holy Spirit in the Synoptics and in the Gospel of John—a fourfold narrative, but the *one testimony*. It is, nevertheless, pleasing to contemplate the human feeling in the writers of the Gospels. There is some reason to believe that each of the four Evangelists has ventured to insert into his Gospel a single story, a mere hint of his own personality : *Matthew*, in the publican, whom Jesus called from the receipt of custom (Matthew ix. 9) ; *Mark*, in the young man who left his *sin*don (linen

Indica-
tions of
the names
of the
Evange-
lists in
their
several
Gospels.

¹ Nares' "Veracity of the Evangelists."

robe) in the hands of the guard (Mark xiv. 51, 52); *Luke*, in the unnamed disciple who accompanied *Cleopas* to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 13); and *John*, in the Apostle whom Jesus loved (John xxi. 20).¹

10. Before concluding these remarks on the origin and composition of the Synoptical Gospels, it may be desirable to give the latest views of the position of the Higher Criticism, presented by the writer of the article "Gospels" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica:"² "The truth is, that the question of oral or documentary sources is not to be settled without a great deal more of labour and of judgment than the subject has hitherto received. For a statement of the oral hypothesis, which is generally adopted by English scholars, the reader is referred to Westcott's 'Introduction to the Gospels,' pp. 161—208. It has been pointed out, however, by Dr. Sanday ('Academy,' September 21, 1878), that there has been of late an increasing tendency in the three theories—the Tübingen, or Adaptation theory; the Documentary Mark theory; the Oral Tradition theory—to approximate to each other; so that the Tendency theory has given less weight to dogmatic tendencies, and more weight to literary considerations. The Documentary Mark theory allows the previous influence of tradition, only stipulating for some lost documentary links between the oral tradition and our Mark, while the Oral theory approaches to the Documentary Mark theory in assuming that the oral Gospel is represented most nearly by our present Mark. 'Nevertheless,' says Dr. Sanday, 'between the two last theories (for the Tübingen theory may be left out of account) the struggle has yet to come. The division between them is almost national. In

Dr. E. A.
Abbott.

¹ "Expositor," by Dr. Cox, Vol. I. p. 436.

² "Encyclopædia Britannica," article "Gospels," Vol. X. p. 842.

Germany, no one of any significance as a critic holds the oral theory. In England, none of our prominent writers hold anything else. France is divided: Godet ranges himself on the side most popular in England; Réville was an early supporter of a view like that which is gaining the ascendancy in Germany, and the same is substantially adopted by M. Renan.' . . . Nevertheless, it will probably be hereafter found that the phenomena of our present Synoptists are due, not to one, but to all of the causes advocated by the various disputants of the eighteenth century. Traditions, documents, theological tendencies, literary modifications, misunderstandings of metaphorical parables, misunderstandings of eucharistic language, misunderstandings of spiritual language—all these causes will be found to have contributed to produce the present Synoptic result; and it will not improbably be found, as Dr. Sanday shrewdly suggests, that early documents have been much more modified, and early traditions much less modified, than modern associations might have led us to suppose. Future investigations will receive a considerable stimulus and help as soon as a harmony of the Synoptists, showing 'The Triple Tradition,' as well as '*The Double Tradition*,' becomes a recognised text-book for all students of the Gospels." The reference to '*The Double Tradition*' is to the notion (to which reference has already been made) of the writer, "that before the time of Matthew and Luke, a document containing words of the Lord had existed long enough, and had acquired authority enough, to induce two editors, or writers of Gospels (Matthew and Luke), apparently representing different schools of thought, and writing for different Churches, to borrow from it independently."¹ We rather think that the fertility of

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," article "Gospels," Vol. X. p. 801.

the critical imagination is already well-nigh exhausted, and that a future succession of new theories on the origin of the Gospels is problematical. But, whether or not, the indications of the failure of interest on the part of critics and theologians in these barren speculations is evident; and future attempts in this direction are likely to be received with indifference.

II. *Alford, Schaff*, and many other orthodox critics, think that it is "*the most natural hypothesis*," to suppose that every one of the three Evangelists were unacquainted with each other's writings. On the supposition that these three Gospels were written so late as the date assumed by Dr. Schaff, such ignorance is possible. But if Matthew, as there is every reason to suppose, wrote his Syro-Chaldaic Gospel within twelve years after the ascension, and if Mark and Luke wrote their Gospels during or soon after the imprisonment of Paul at Rome, then *the hypothesis appears most unnatural*. The fact of this acquaintance or the contrary, cannot be proved; it is a question of mere probability. We know that they were independent witnesses, and had in view the benefit of particular classes in the Jewish and Gentile societies, and that most remarkably they do in fact supplement each other. The reader can choose between the complex theories of the Higher Criticism, and the more natural hypothesis of Dr. Townson.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SYNOPTICAL GOSPELS.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

Matthew
the same
as Levi.

I. *Matthew*, called the Publican (Matt. x. 3), is undoubtedly the same as Levi, mentioned in Mark. ii. 14, Luke v. 27 ; but, in the opinion of *Heracleon*, *Origen*, *Grotius*, *Michaelis*, *Sieffert*, *Ewald*, *Keim*, and *Grimm*, two different persons are there referred to. By Mark he is called the son of Alphæus, and as this was the name of the father of James the Less, the supposition of the identity of this Alphæus with the Clopas (Cleophas) of John xix. 25, and the Cleopas mentioned in Luke xxiv. 18, has been entertained by many. But this, like the true relations of the brethren of our Lord, the Jameses and the Marys, cannot be ascertained, and must remain matters of conjecture, as particulars omitted, because not necessary to mention, at the time the Gospels were written, when the parties were well known. We in the nineteenth century remain ignorant of these precise relationships, because the Christians of the first half of the first century needed no information on these points. Incidentally, this absence of all explanation is one additional proof of the early date of the Synoptical Gospels. Of the subsequent history of Matthew we know nothing, beyond the traditions alluded to in the previous chapter. Faustus, the Manichæan bishop (fourth century), is the only writer opposed to the authorship of Matthew, because in the Gospel the writer calls him by name, as

if he were a distinct person, different from the writer—but this is a childish objection. Papias, according to Eusebius, speaks of Matthew as the author of a Gospel in Hebrew, containing the *λογια*, which the old scholars understood to mean the life of Christ; but in modern times, *Schleiermacher*, *Lachmann*, *Credner*, *Weisse*, *Wiesler*, *Ewald*, *Meyer*, and *Holtzmann*, explain the word as meaning simply a collection of Christ's discourses; but this is not its meaning in classical or Hellenistic Greek (see Acts vii. 38; Romans iii. 2; Hebrews v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11.)

2. The Gospel of *Matthew* which appears in our Canonical New Testament is written in Greek; but the almost unanimous opinion of antiquity, up to the sixteenth century, was in favour of an original Gospel in Hebrew (Syro-Chaldæan), of which the present Greek is a translation. Since then the very existence of a Hebrew Gospel has been denied. The discussion of these questions occupies some hundreds of pages in the writings of modern critics, for instance, *S. Davidson*, *Bleek*, *Meyer*, and others. The arguments of the advocates of each opinion fail to leave a decided conviction, and no conclusion is satisfactory. At present there is a disposition on the part of the learned to believe—(1) That there was a Hebrew Gospel by Matthew, written at a very early period, say 37 A.D. (2) That this was followed by an original Gospel in Greek, about 60 A.D.; and (3) That as the Hebrew Christian Church disappeared, as no longer possessing a distinct organisation, the Hebrew Gospel was lost. There is a parallel case in the history of Josephus of the "Jewish Wars," which was originally written both in Hebrew and Greek; the Hebrew has perished, the Greek remains, as in the case of the Gospel of Matthew. The importance attached to this comparatively unimportant matter may be seen by

A Gospel
in Hebrew
and Greek.

the following list of the leading advocates on each side in this controversy, which we give in alphabetical order, premising, however, that the agreement of these authors is in every case a general one, with specified qualifications and minute distinctions common to all critics.

Advocates
for a
Hebrew
original.

A.—On the side of a *Hebrew* original: Alber, Baur, Bellarmine, Bertholdt, Calmet, Campbell, Cassant, Cave, Chrysostom, Clarke (A.), Corrodi, Cyril, Davidson (S.), Du Pin, Ebrard, Eichhorn, Epiphanius, Gratz, Grawitz, Greswell, Grotius, Guder, Guericke, Hammond, Harwood, Hanlein, Horne (T. H.), Jerome, John (the Presbyter), Irenæus, Klener, Kuinöel, Lange, Luthardt, Marsh, Michaelis, Mill, Olshausen, Owen, Origen, Papias, Pritius, Schmidt, Sieffert, Simon, Story, Thiersch, Tholuck, Tillemont, Tomline, Tregelles, Walton, Weisse, Westcott, and Ziegler.

For a
Greek
original.

B.—On the side of a *Greek* original: Alford, Basnage, Beausobre, Beza, Bleek, Burslav, Cajetan, Calov, Calvin, Credner, Crusius, De Wette, Delitzsch, Edelmann, Erasmus, Fabricius, Flacius, Fritzsche, Gerhard, Hales, Hailes, Hewlett, Hey, Hilgenfeld, Hoffmann, Holtzmann, Hug, Jones (J.), Jortin, Keim, Kostlin, Kuhn, Lardner, Le Clerc, Lightfoot (J.), Masch. Majus, Moldenhauer, Neudecker, Paræus, Paulus, Pfeiffer, Ritsch, Rumpæus, Schott, Schubert, Theile, Tischendorff, Volkmar, Visir, Wetstein, and Whitby.

For a
Hebrew
and Greek
original.

C.—On the side of *both a Hebrew and Greek* original: Benson (Dr.), Cleaver (Bishop), Gleig (Bishop), Hey, Kitto, Lee (W.), Meyer, Thiersch, Dr. Townson, and Whitby.

3. *Dr. Townson's* reasons for supporting the opinion of two originals, express the general opinion of our day. He thinks that there seems to be more reasons for allowing two originals, than for contending for either; the consent of antiquity pleading strongly for the He-

brew, and evident marks of originality for the Greek.¹ The classification of authorities in the preceding paragraphs is not absolutely correct to the letter, but to be understood with many qualifications; for instance, *Klener, Sieffert, Schleiermacher, Lachmann, Weisse, Neander, Schneckenberger, Credner, Kern, Schott*, and others, advocated (with some minor differences in detail) the theory of an Aramean Gospel, containing our Lord's discourses, as the basis of Matthew's Greek Gospel, in connection, however, with various opinions, more or less differing from the views of orthodox Churches. The opinion of Canon Cureton, that a version in Syriac of St. Matthew, published by him, is more ancient than the Peshito, and in the main identical with the original Aramaic, has not met with general acceptance.

4. With respect to *the origin and sources of Matthew's Gospel*, the opinions of the critics are manifold: *Schultz* denies that Matthew is the author, so also the *Straussian* school, with *Bruno Bauer* and *Gfrörer*, declare it to be unhistorical; but *Heydenreich, Theile, Fritzsche, Kleiner, Sieffert, Schleiermacher, Lachmann, Weisse, Neander, Schneckenberger, Credner, Kern, Schott, Olshausen, Guericke, Ebrard, Heine*, support the generally received opinion, but with a great variety in their views respecting points of importance. (2) *Bleek* thinks "that our Greek Gospel of Matthew originated in a pseudo-Greek Gospel, and that so far from being based upon an Aramean 'Gospel of the Hebrews,' it was the original from which that Gospel was taken. It was not written by Matthew as supposed, as it differs from John in the date of the crucifixion, and is silent respecting our Lord's earlier journey to Jerusalem, and other important facts. It takes a stand lower than John, but still ranks side by

Bleek.

¹ Dr. Townson's "Discourses," Vol. I. p. 31, 1810.

side with Luke, and remains a trustworthy and most valuable spring from which Christian faith may draw, and by which it may be strengthened and confirmed."

Meyer. (3) *Meyer* thinks that "in the form in which the Gospel of Matthew now exists, it cannot have proceeded from the hands of the Apostle Matthew. . . . Nevertheless, it must be regarded as a fact, placed beyond all doubt by the traditions of the Church, that our Matthew is a Greek translation of an original Hebrew (Aramean) writing, clothed with the Apostolic authority of Matthew as the author, so ancient and unanimous is this tradition. . . . That the original Hebrew writing, however, from which our present Matthew proceeded, through being translated into Greek, must, apart from the language, have been in contents and form, in whole and in part, substantially the same as our Greek translation; . . . that the Apostle Matthew must have had in the Hebrew composition so substantial a part, that it could on sufficient historical grounds vindicate its claim to be regarded, in the ancient and universal traditions of the Church, as the Hebrew Gospel according to Matthew.¹ . . . Finally, Meyer concludes that the share of the Apostle in the Gospel which bears his name is confined to a collection of the discourses of our Lord, according to Papias in Hebrew, and so far the book as a whole cannot be called Apostolic in the narrow sense, but already a secondary narrative according to Baur." Meyer is evidently led to this depreciation of Matthew, like Bleek, by the apparent difference in the time assigned to the celebration of the Last Supper, and in the date of the crucifixion, from that given by John. (4) *Baur* considers that there was an original Matthew, written from a strictly Jewish point of view, reflecting the primitive Christianity of the twelve

¹ Meyer's "Matthew," Vol. I. pp. 4, 16, 17.

Apostles and of the Church at Jerusalem—this, the basis of our Matthew, about A.D. 130—134. (5) *Hilgenfeld* Hilgenfeld. “denies the opposition, which Baur supposes to have existed, between the original Matthew and Luke which preceded ours. In the bosom of the primitive Apostolic Catholic Church, there was an intense development at work from the first century in a Pauline direction, the result of such events as the fall of Jerusalem, and the increase of Gentile converts ; and that this is proved by the numerous universalist passages in our Canonical Matthew, which witness to the changes in the original Matthew ; this was written 70—80 A.D.” (6) *Volkmar* Volkmar. places Mark before Luke, as the first Gospel, and Matthew as a result from both. (7) *Weiss* Weiss. thinks that there were—an Apostolical Matthew, then Mark, and lastly, *our* Matthew, compiled from the Apostolical Matthew and Mark. (8) *Klostermann* Klostermann. thinks that Matthew was first in order, that Mark copied from it, and Luke from Mark. (9) *Abbott*, in the article Abbott. “Gospels” in the “Encyclopædia Britannica,”¹ places Matthew after Mark. We cannot help quoting the following remarks, bearing upon all the various and opposing opinions of the critics upon this and the other Gospels. “Criticism is of course possible on all these points ; it may make work for itself anywhere ; nay, its work may be useful anywhere, to a certain degree. But perhaps one of its uses is to teach us what it cannot do ; and here its witness agrees not together. According to divers writers, Matthew is the oldest writer and not the oldest ; a Greek writer but a Hebrew ; his work is the foundation of the Gospel of Mark, but drawn from that simpler record ; it is the work of an Apostle, but there are positive reasons against regarding it from an

¹ Ninth Edition.

Apostle's hand. Its line of teaching is clear and consistent; yet with skilful knife we can dissect out the various fibres of tendencies, which make it so manifold and so little consistent with itself. Its unity is self-evident; and yet it never continued for two decades the same, so active were the editors in making it afresh. Its inconsistencies with the other Gospels start out to careless eyes; and yet many hands were constantly at work bringing one Gospel to bear on another, and altering each by the light of the other. *These being the results, we have a right to suspect the method; it is even allowable to doubt whether there can be any true principles on which results so discordant can be based*" (Archbishop Thompson's "General Introduction to the Gospels").¹ In all probability the Hebrew Gospel was written early, A.D. 37; the Greek later, A.D. 60—thus reconciling the opinions of the learned on this question.²

Reconciliation of the Synoptists with John as to the date of the Lord's Supper by Caspari.

5. It is singular that a *reconciliation of Matthew and the Synoptists with John in reference to the Lord's Supper*, which Meyer and Bleek deemed impossible, and which, in their opinion, the greatest writers, including Augustine, Osiander, Chemnitz, Gorhard, Calvin, Bengel, Stoor, Wiesler, &c., had in vain attempted to reconcile, should be regarded by Caspari (a German critic, 1868) and by some other moderns, as a comparatively trifling matter. (1) Caspari asserts that the Synoptists and St. John are perfectly agreed in the date as well as in the fact of the Lord's Supper, but not in the phraseology. In his opinion the Lord's Supper was not eaten by our Lord and His disciples, but simply the *Mazoth*, i.e., the unleavened bread, lettuce, &c., not a word being said in the

¹ "Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament," Vol. I. p. xxxi. Introduction.

² Tregelles in Horne, Introduction, Vol. IV. p. 416.

Synoptics of a lamb, or the buying or killing an offering, or the eating of it; this meal was the Passover as observed by all Israelites without distinction, when most convenient to them. In case of the lamb being presented to and slain by the priest in the Sanctuary, then the eating of the lamb was necessary; but our Saviour had a special reason for eating the *Mazoth*: "*With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer*" (Luke xxii. 15)¹; as He knew that otherwise His death would prevent. The eating of the Paschal lamb took place on 15th Nisan, A.D. 30; our Lord partook of the *Mazoth* on Thursday evening, on which the 14th Nisan began; He was seized and tried early on the morning of Friday, and crucified the same day before the evening, when the 15th Nisan began.¹ (2) *De Wette*, *De Wette*, *Meyer*, *Neander*, *Greswell*, *Alford* and *Westcott* think &c. that the Passover eaten by our Lord and His disciples was not the ordinary Jewish Passover, but a meal partaken of by them on the previous evening, at which time the 14th Nisan had already commenced. This meal was intended to supersede the Jewish festival by one of far deeper and diviner signification. So, also, *Farrar* in his "*Life of Christ.*"² (3) *J. Brown McClellan*, with *Hengstenberg*, *Tholuck*, *Wiesler*, *Lange*, *Robinson*, *Kitto*, &c., *McClellan* thinks that the Paschal supper was eaten by our Lord and His disciples on the evening of Thursday, 14th Nisan, on which the 15th of Nisan began, and that our Lord was crucified on the same 15th Nisan, or Friday, A.D. 30. He thinks that the references in John, chaps. xviii. 28 and xix. 14, which seem at first sight to imply that the Passover was not yet eaten, refer to the *Chaggigal* or Peace Offerings, which were originally

¹ Chronological Introduction to "*Life of Christ*," pp. 492, 493.

² *Farrar*, Vol. II. pp. 277—482.

George
Brown.

killed and eaten with the Paschal lamb, but which had latterly been deferred to the next day. For the elaborate calculations by which McClellan supports this view, we must refer to his "New Testament."¹ (4) The *Rev. George Brown*, in an article in the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," suggests a reconciliation between the language of John in the chapters just referred to, by an extension of the meaning of the word *φάγειν*, which, though in the majority of cases is used in the sense of "to eat food," may in a secondary sense be applied to the observance of a festival in which eating of food formed an important part. He believes that our Lord and His disciples ate the Passover.²

Differences
between
the
Synoptics
and John
as to the
hour of
the Crucifixion.

6. With respect to the apparent contradiction as to the time of the Crucifixion. All the Synoptists agree that the great darkness commenced in the *sixth hour*. Matt. xxviii. 45; Mark xv. 33; Luke xxiii. 44; Mark xv. 25, state that "*it was the third hour, and they crucified Him.*" John says, xix. 14, "*about the sixth hour.*" It is highly probable that the Evangelists Mark and John, referring to the two broad divisions of the day among the Jews, *i.e.*, the *third* and the *sixth* hour (with us, nine and twelve), refer to some period not exactly given between the two extremes, the one taking the earlier, and the other the later term. John says about the *sixth* hour; the time was probably equivalent. *Bengel, Robinson, Wilkinson, Webster, Hales*, think that the text of John should be corrected from *sixth* to *third*; other critics would alter Mark from the *third* to the *sixth*, as *Ferome* and *Caspari*. Some again, as *Olshausen, Hug, Tholuck, Wordsworth, and Turner*, think that the Evangelist John has adopted the Roman mode of

¹ McClellan's "Gospels," Vol. I. pp. 473—494.

² "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," October, 1879.

reckoning from midnight, but this would not agree with Mark's third hour from sunrise, according to the Jewish computation. *Alford*, cautiously, while agreeing with Mark as the most consistent with the whole narrative, imagines that John has adopted a different mode of calculating time.

7. *The genuineness of the two first chapters of Matthew's Gospel*, which contain the account of the miraculous conception and birth of Christ, have been objected to by critics of the Socinian school; the objection originated in dogmatic considerations. The whole controversy is given fully and dispassionately in Dr. S. Davidson's "Introduction to the New Testament,"¹ in Horne,² and in Archbishop Magee's "Dissertation on the Atonement, &c."³ The writers on both sides in this controversy are numerous. *Against* the genuineness of these chapters, *Williams*, who first began the discussion in 1771 in his "Free Inquiry," *Stroth*, *Hess*, *Ammon*, *Eichhorn*, *Schleiermacher*, *Bertholdt*, *Norton*, and *Priestley*, who all of them, "if they do not absolutely reject, throw out doubts at least of the Apostolic origin of these two chapters." In favour of the genuineness of these chapters we have *Fleming*, in his reply to *Williams*, 1771, *Velthusen*, *Theiss*, *Rau*, *G. P. Schmidt*, *Piper*, *Griesbach*, *Schubert*, *Müller*, *Hug*, *Credner*, *Paulus*, *Fritzsche*, *Kuinöel*. The summary of the results of the evidence, taken from *Davidson* and *Meyer*, is thus given in Horne's "Introduction." "The commencement of the third chapter of Matthew's Gospel shows that something had preceded analogous to what we read in chapter ii. All the ancient MSS. now extant, as well

Genuine-
ness of the
first and
second
chapters of
Matthew.

¹ Davidson's "Introduction to the New Testament," Vol. I. pp. III, 127.

IV. pp. 421 — 427. Edition 1856.

³ Magee's "Atonement," Vol. II.

² Horne's "Introduction," Vol. pp. 437—454.

as all the ancient versions (some of which are of extreme antiquity), contain the first chapters. *Justin Martyr*, *Hegesippus*, and *Clement of Alexandria*, who all flourished in the second century, have referred to them, as also have *Irenæus*, and all the Fathers who immediately succeeded him, and whose testimony is undisputed. *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, and *Julian*, the most acute and inveterate enemies of the Gospels in the second, third, and fourth centuries, likewise admitted them. Thus we have 'one continued and unbroken series of testimony,' of Christians as well as of persons inimical to Christianity, from the days of the Apostles to the present time; and in opposition to this, we find only a vague report of the state of a Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, *said* to be received amongst us as obscure and unrecognised descriptions of Hebrew Christians, who are admitted, even by the very writers who claim the support of their authenticity, to have mutilated the copy which they possess by removing the genealogy. The doxology, chapter vi. end of verse 16, is regarded as an interpolation."

The Genealogies.

8. *The Genealogical Table* in the first chapter of Matthew traces the descent of our Lord from Abraham through David, but differs materially from that which is given in Luke's Gospel (chap. iii. 23 to 38), which carries the pedigree up to the first man, Adam, and apparently through another line. In Matthew's pedigree Joseph is the son of Jacob, the son of Matthan. In Luke's he is the son of Heli, the son of Matthat (*i.e.*, Matthan). Joseph cannot be the son naturally both of Heli and Jacob. In one case he must be the son legally. Various explanations are advocated by learned men, some of them most elaborate, the result of much research. *The first*, which supposes both genealogies to be those of Joseph, accounts for his double parentage

by the supposition of a levirate marriage (Deut.xxv. 5, 6), Jacob and Heli being the sons of the same mother by different fathers—the latter being the legal father of Joseph, the former his real father by marriage with the half-brother's widow. This view is advocated, among others, by the *Rev. J. B. McClellan*.¹ *The second*, which supposes that Matthew intended to give the table of royal succession and heirship to the throne of David, while Luke gives the actual descent. If this hypothesis be carried through the tables, we must suppose that the royal line through Solomon became extinct in Jeconias, whence the right of succession passed to the younger branch in the collateral line of Nathan, in Salathiel; and again, that the elder branch of Zorobabel's posterity became extinct in Eleazer or in Jacob, when the succession passed to the younger branch in Matthan, or in Joseph, the son of Heli. This view is maintained in part by *Grotius*, and recently by *Dr. Mill*, and is carried out more fully by *Bishop Lord A. Hervey*.² According to *Bishop Hervey's* theory, Joseph is the natural son of Heli; Mary is his cousin, the daughter of Jacob—the only daughter—and her child Jesus the rightful heir to the throne of David. With this view *Bishop Ellicott* and *Wordsworth* and *Alford* concur. *The third* is that of *Dr. Peter Holmes* (given in *Kitto's "Encyclopædia of Biblical Literature"*),³ to the effect that in Matthew we have the genealogy of Joseph, and in Luke that of Mary, the daughter of Heli, who became the wife of Joseph, the reputed father of our Lord. These theories are interesting, even if not convincing. The Jews of the time of the Evangelists, when the genealogical tables were extant and accessible,

¹ "Gospels," Vol. I. p. 417.

³ *Kitto's "Biblical Encyclopædia,"* Vol. II. pp. 92—101.

² "Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament," Vol. I. p. 2.

understood and could reconcile difficulties which we can only perceive, and they never attempted to deny that Jesus was of the house of David by His mother Mary.

Mark's
Gospel.

THE GOSPEL BY ST. MARK.

9. *Mark*, the Evangelist, has been generally identified with the John Mark mentioned in Acts xii. 25, and the John of Acts xiii. 5, 13, and the Mark mentioned in Acts xv. 39; Colossians iv. 10; 2 Timothy iv. 11; Philemon verse 24; and 1 Peter v. 13. This identity is disputed by *Grotius*, *Calovius*, *Du Pin*, *Tillemont*, *Schleiermacher*, *Campbell*. *Da Costa* thinks that the devout soldier of Acts x. 7 is the same person as the Evangelist. With some probability he is considered to be the "young man having a linen cloth about his naked body," who, on being laid hold of by those who came to seize Jesus, "left the linen cloth (*sindon*) and fled from them naked" (Mark xiv. 51, 52); others, as *Ambrose*, *Gregory the Great*, *Bede*, *Bengel*, *Townson*, *Greswell*, *Olshausen*, *Lange*, *Neander*, *Credner*, *Hottinger*, *Tholuck*, and *Stanley*, imagine him to have been the son of Peter in the ordinary sense of the term, taking literally the expression, "*Marcus, my son*" (1 Peter v. 13); but this is contrary to the view of the early writers, *Eusebius*, *Origen*, and *Ferome*. The general opinion first noticed appears the most probable. Mark was the son of one "Mary," who lived in Jerusalem (Acts xii. 22), cousin of Barnabas (Colossians iv. 10); he attended Paul and Barnabas as their helper on their first journey, but turned back at Perga (Acts xiii. 13, xii. 25), and was the cause of a "sharp contention" (Acts xv. 36—40) between Paul and Barnabas. The estrangement from Paul was not permanent, for we find Mark with Paul during his first imprisonment at Rome (Colossians iv. 10; Philemon verse 24). Some time later he was with Peter at Babylon

(1 Peter v. 13). He appears to have been with Timothy at Ephesus (2 Timothy iv. 11), when Paul in his second imprisonment expressed a desire to see him at Rome. Here, according to a general tradition, he was afterwards with Peter as his "interpreter," and compiled his Gospel under the direction of Peter (A.D. 60 to 63).

10. By the unanimous voice of antiquity, the Gospel according to *Mark* is ascribed to the Evangelist whose name it bears. *Papias*, on the testimony of John the Elder, states that "Mark, being Peter's interpreter, wrote exactly whatever he remembered, not indeed in the order wherein the things were spoken and done by the Lord, for he was not himself a hearer or follower of our Lord; but he afterwards, as I said, followed Peter, who gave instructions as suited the occasion, but not as a regular history of our Lord's teaching." Hence it has been called the Gospel of Peter by some, and by others regarded as taken from an earlier Gospel by Peter, or a mere recasting of Matthew in the interest of the Petrine party in the Churches. *Clement of Alexandria* thinks it was written at Rome by the request of Peter's hearers, who desired a permanent record of his teaching. *Chrysostom* thinks it was written at Alexandria, and a recent writer, *Storr*, fixes upon Antioch, but these are mere conjectures. That the Gospel was written under the guidance of Peter, although doubted by Alford, is highly probable. On this ground we may account for the omission of many facts creditable to Peter; on the other hand, reproofs of our Lord addressed to Peter are inserted (chap. viii. 33), while the blessing pronounced upon him (Matt. xvi. 17—20) is omitted: there is a full and circumstantial account of Peter's denial (Mark xiv. 66—72), but the bitterness of his repentance is not dwelt upon; yet with all his modest reticence he could not

keep back the comforting message from the sepulchre, "*tell His disciples and Peter*" (chap. xvi. 7), the proof of the Saviour's special condonation of Peter's cowardly denial. The date of the Gospel cannot be later than 63 A.D., but is placed at 49 A.D. by others.

Mark not
a mere
copyist.

II. Great injustice has been done to the Gospel by Mark by an opinion carelessly expressed by *St. Augustine* that he was a servile copyist of Matthew; this opinion has been adopted with some variety by *Simon, Calmet, Adler, Owen, Harwood, Koppe, Michaelis, Griesbach, Saunier, Thiele, Strauss, Von Ammon*, and others; but it is inconsistent with the fact that Mark, while he omits much that is important in Matthew, adds to our information on many very interesting points. Certain passages imply that the testimony is that of an eyewitness, of even Peter himself, related by him in his preaching. Among other remarks which abound in that most striking illustration of the peculiarities of the Evangelical histories in the work of *Da Costa*, "*The Four Witnesses*," we may quote one referring to this Evangelist: "If any one desire to know an evangelical fact, not only in its main features and grand results, but also in its more minute and, so to speak, more graphic delineations, he must betake himself to *St. Mark*." That "in substance and style and treatment the Gospel of *St. Mark* is essentially a transcript from life," is the opinion of *Westcott*,¹ whose remarks are to the point. "The course and the issue of facts are imaged in it with the clearest outline. If all other arguments against the mythic origin of the Evangelical narrative were wanting, this new and simple record, stamped with the most distinct impress of independence and originality, totally unconnected with the symbolism of the Old Dispensation, totally indepen-

Da Costa.

Westcott.

¹ "Introduction to Gospels," p. 344.

dent of the deeper reasonings of the New, would be sufficient to refute a theory subversive of all faith in history."

12. This Gospel was originally written in Greek, an undoubted fact, though some Romish writers of high repute—*Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, and *Inchofer*—have put in a claim for the Latin language being that used by the Evangelist. But it was written for the Gentile converts at Rome, most of whom used the Greek language; for their benefit were inserted explanations of Jewish topography and of Hebrew expressions. Much of the Higher Criticism on this Gospel is included in that which has already come under our notice in the chapters on the Canon and Synoptists. The more recent criticism is, like the preceding, remarkable for its contradictions. (1) *Keim* thinks that Mark aims at uniting Matthew and Luke. *Weisse* and *Volkmar* have each devoted a volume to this Gospel, and arrive at different and opposite conclusions. (2) *Volkmar* considers Mark to be the first of the Gospels, and the source of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; he regards it as Pauline in its spirit, and as specially aimed to counteract the Judaic tendency of the Apocalypse, which was opposed to Paul; he fixes the date at A.D. 68. (3) *Hilgenfeld*, who places Mark after Matthew, contradicts these opinions of *Volkmar*, and regards the Gospel by Mark as an attempt to harmonise the two principles represented by Peter and Paul, following the changed Gospel of Matthew, but modified by the oral traditions of the Church of Rome derived from Peter A.D. 100. (4) *Herder*, *Storr*, *Wilke*, *Ewald*, *Reuss*, *Réville*, *Holtzmann*, and *Ritsch*, consider (with *Volkmar*) Mark to be the originator of the Synoptists. (5) *Baur* regards Mark as derived from Luke, through Matthew as the fountain. (6) *Köstlin*, following with additions *Baur* and *Schwegler*, has a very complex

The
Higher
Criticism
on Mark.

theory to account for the origin of Mark's Gospel. There were, *first*, the oldest Proto-Evangelion or Proto-Mark ; then, *secondly*, this last composed with the *λογία* of Matthew, preceded our Mark ; then, *thirdly*, a Gospel of Peter which closely resembled the original proto-Mark ; after this, *fourthly*, Luke, to which all the preceding helped ; *fifthly*, then our Mark by the help of Canonical Matthew and Luke. (7) *Rev. Dr. E. A. Abbott* considers Mark to be the earliest Gospel, "one proof of which is the rudeness and even vulgarity of his Greek. He uses a great number of words which are expressly forbidden by the grammarian," and which would have so "jarred upon the ear of an educated Greek as almost to correspond to our slang." The reference is to certain words used by Mark, some of which, however, are found in Luke ; and these, on the authority of Phrynicius, are condemned as *mongrel* Greek, words only bearable by Greek slaves and freedmen who formed the first congregation of the Church in Rome. (?) Now as Phrynicius lived in the time of Aurelius and Commodus, A.D. 170—180, and wrote to point out the proper use of certain words and of certain forms of words, as alone authorised by the writers of pure Attic diction ; words which, to refined Atticeans, might appear vulgar, might on the contrary be used by those who spoke the *common Greek* universally used in Greece, Italy, and the East. In the three generations which had lived between Mark and Phrynicius, great changes may take place in the use of particular words. There are good English words used by all classes a century ago which are now regarded as obsolete. We cannot, therefore, receive Dr. Abbott's dicta from Phrynicius as proving the vulgarity of Mark. In his opinion Mark's Gospel is "inartistic and uncouth," yet "it has a unity derived from its natural simplicity

and singlemindedness in recording whatever it records, as it was delivered from the earliest sources in its entirety."¹ As to the character of the Church at Rome, the Epistle of Paul was certainly not addressed to ignorant, uneducated persons. So much for the antagonistic theories of the Higher Criticism. The natural result is a conviction on the part of sober and independent thinkers, who have no theory to support, that there is not sufficient evidence in the records of Christian antiquity to justify the fine wire-drawn conclusions of the learned. Common sense is every day bringing us to acquiesce in the old traditions of the Churches on these points. That there is much in the Gospel of Mark in common with Matthew, and something also only common to Mark and Luke, *Dr. Plumptre* remarks,² may be accounted for naturally ; *Dr. Plumptre.* in the case of Matthew, by the fact that the matter common to both, represents the substance of the information generally known to the Jewish commentator directly, or indirectly, under the teachings of Peter, the Apostle of the Circumcision ; in the case of Luke we find a natural and adequate explanation in the fact that the two Evangelists were, at least at one time of their lives, brought into contact with each other. Dr. Abbott has failed to do justice to the graphic power of Mark, to which, however, *Dr. Edward Venables* has called attention in his article on "Mark" in Kitto's "Encyclopædia :"³ "His Gospel is a rapid succession of vivid pictures, loosely strung together, . . . without much attempt to bind them into a whole or give the events in their natural sequence. This pictorial form is that which especially characterises this Evangelist, as has been well

¹ "Encyclop. Brit.," Vol. X., article "Gospels," pp. 792, 802.

² "New Testament," Cassell's Edition, Vol. I. p. 4 to p. 191.

³ Kitto's "Encyclopædia of Biblical Literature," Vol. III. pp. 71, 72.

said by Da Costa (quoted already in p. 390). This power is especially apparent in all that concerns our Lord Himself. Nowhere else are we permitted so clearly to behold His very gesture and look—see His very position—to read His feelings, and to hear His very words. It is to St. Mark, also, that we are indebted for the record of minute particulars of persons, places, times, and number, which stamp on his narrative an impress of authenticity.”

Disputed
portions of
Mark's
Gospel.

13. Portions of Mark's Gospel have been rejected by some critics. (1) Chap. i. 1—13, have been objected to by *Reuss* and others without any discernible reason, as they are found in all the MSS. (2) Chap. xvi. 9—20, which forms the concluding part of the narrative in our Canonical edition, has occasioned much discussion among the learned. The internal evidence is by some considered decidedly against its genuineness, yet this passage must have been added by some authority recognised by the early Church, as it is found in many MSS. and versions from the time of *Irenæus* and *Hippolytus*, and also in the Alexandrian MS. and in the Syriac Version. *Eusebius*, *Gregory of Nyssa*, *Victor*, *Jerome* (though not always), and others testify that this passage is not found in the best copies. They are omitted in the “Codex Vaticanus,” and in the “Sinaitic.” The different sides taken by the learned prove the uncertainty of the point in dispute.

(1) On the side of the non-genuineness of the verses we have *Michaelis*, *Teller*, *Bolton*, *Theiss*, *Griesbach*, *Bertholdt*, *Schulthess*, *Scholt*, *Henneberg*, *Fritzsche*, *Credner*, *Schultz*, *Hitzig*, *Wieseler*, *Norton*, *Neudecker*, *Reuss*, *Ewald* and *Meyer*.

(2) On the theory that they were added by some other hand, authorised more or less, *Alford*, *Westcott*, *Hort*, *Bishop Lightfoot*, and *Tregelles*.

(3) *On the side of their genuineness*—*Osiander, Simon. Fabricius, Glassius, Wolf, Mill, Bengel, Storr, Matthæi, Paulus, Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, Hug, Eichhorn, Olshausen, De Wette, Feilmoser, Vater, Saunier, Guericke, Lange, Scrivener, Stier, Ebrard, Archbishop Thomson, and Bishop Wordsworth.* The Rev. J. Brown McClellan "unhesitatingly and with entire conviction" retains the whole section as genuine.¹ It has been suggested with some plausibility that the abrupt conclusion of this Gospel (say the end, verse 8 of chap. xvi.) may be accounted for from the sudden death of the Evangelist in the great conflagration in the time of Nero, at Rome. This *may* be true; the guess is fully as valuable as nineteen-twentieths of the haphazard criticisms on this and other of the sacred books.

THE GOSPEL BY ST. LUKE.

Luke.

14. *Luke*, "the beloved physician" (Coll. iv. 14), was probably a native of Antioch, a freedman of one Theophilus, a wealthy and distinguished inhabitant of that city; probably also of mixed parentage, but a Jew in religious profession, before converted to Christianity (*Banage, Fabricius, Lardner*), though *Michaelis* thinks he was of Gentile parents, and *Bolton* that he was a proselyte. *Josiah Conder*, in his excellent "Literary History of the New Testament,"² identifies him with Silas, but this conjecture has not met with acceptance, though *Kohlbrieff* adopts it. Whether he was a disciple and eye-witness of our Lord's miracles is a doubtful point. *Theophylact* thinks him to have been the companion of Cleopas in the memorable walk to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 13—35). *Origen, Epiphanius*, and *Bishop Gleig* think that he was one of the seventy disciples. Certainly he was a companion of Paul (Acts xvi. 9—11,

¹ "Gospels," Vol. I. p. 680.

² "Literary Hist. of the New Test.," 8vo.

xxi. 15—17). *Tertullian* assumes that he was one of Paul's converts. We first hear of his joining Paul at Troas (Acts xvi. 9): through life he was the companion and fellow labourer with Paul, and is not without reason supposed to be "*the brother whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches*" (2 Cor. viii. 18). This Gospel was probably written before Paul's liberation from imprisonment at Rome.

15. It is obvious that this Gospel was written originally in Greek, almost classical as to style, as we have it, and mainly for the use of the Gentiles, from the geographical explanation as to localities in Palestine, which no Israelite needed to be told. Abbott thinks that the style, especially of passages which may be regarded as translations from the Aramean, is excellent Greek—differing from that of Mark, which was only suited to the early Church (freemen and slaves). Very natural that the "better Greek should in the prosperous days of the Church be substituted for the worse."¹ The influence of Paul upon the writer has been generally admitted. In a quotation made by Paul (1 Timothy v. 18) the latter part is found nowhere but in Luke's Gospel (x. 7), *i.e.*, "*The labourer is worthy of his hire.*" Some think that by the words "my Gospel," mentioned in 2 Timothy ii. 8, the Apostle refers to this Gospel of Luke, but the passage admits of another interpretation. The reference to the *Census of Cyrenius*, Luke ii. 1, for some time appeared irreconcilable with the statements of profane chronology and history of those times, according to which Cyrenius (Quirinus) did not become President of Syria for ten years after the period specified by Luke. Justin Martyr had stated thrice the fact as Luke had stated it; but then he was a Christian! and supposed to

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. X., article "Gospels," p. 802.

be anxious to justify the Gospel of Luke! Zumpt has recently brought to light the fact that Quirinus was at the time Governor of Cilicia, to which the government of Syria was at that time an appendage, thus justifying the accuracy of the narrative. Within the last few years, the Gospel by St. Luke has been the object of a remarkable eulogy: Renan calls it "the most beautiful book in existence," owing to "the hearty sympathy of the writer with the deep tenderness which breathes in the words and acts" of our Saviour.¹ The first two chapters have been questioned, on the same grounds as have influenced the Unitarian scholars to reject the first and second chapters of Matthew. They were left out of Marcion's Gospel, but have been vindicated by the early Fathers, and by Lardner, Nares, and others. So, also, chapter viii. 27—30 has been regarded as an interpolation; and chapter xxii. 27—30 omitted in many MSS., but without very satisfactory evidence, as it is referred to by Irenæus, J. Martyr, and others, and received by Griesbach as genuine.

16. The opinions of sundry critics on the origin, authority and sources of this Gospel are various.²

(1) "*An Anonymous Saxon*," 1845, attributes the Gospel to Paul, and considers it to be a tissue of falsehoods, a pamphlet composed out of hatred of Peter and the Twelve. Critical theories.

(2) *Mayerhoff* attributes the Gospel and the Acts, when *we* occurs, to Timothy (1835).

(3) *Schleiermacher* considers Luke to be a mere compiler: the portion from chap. ix. 5 to xix. 48 he ascribes to two distinct writings—the one a journal by a companion of Jesus up to Jerusalem to the feast of Dedi-

¹ "Les Evangiles," chap. xiii.

² Godet, "Int. Luke."

cation, the other by a companion of Jesus to the feast of the Passover.

(4) *Marsh* and *Kuinöel* regard chapters ix. 51 to xviii. 14 as a more ancient document, containing the precepts of Jesus and other matter. So, also, *Hilgenfeld*.

(5) *Köstlin* thinks that the basis of Luke is from materials from Jewish and Samaritan sources.

(6) *Keim* ascribes Luke to a Jewish-Christian Gospel, related to St. Matthew and also to St. Paul, especially the account of the Last Supper.

Ewald. (7) *Ewald's* theory is very complicated: he supposes (a) a Gospel written by Philip the Evangelist in the Aramean language; (b) Matthew *λογια* or discourses; (c) the *proto-Marc*, composed by the aid of the two preceding; (d) a Gospel treating of certain critical points in our Lord's life, which he calls the Book of the Higher History; (e) our Canonical Matthew, combining the *λογια* of this Apostle, with all the other writings; (f) (g) (h) three writings now lost—one of a familiar tender character, another somewhat brusque and abrupt, the third containing the narrative of the infancy; lastly (i) our Canonical Luke, composed by the aid of all the preceding materials.

(8) *Bleek* refers both Matthew and Luke to a Greek Gospel written in Galilee as the basis.

(9) *Reuss*, *Réville*, and *Holtzmann* think a *proto-Marc* Gospel to be the origin of Luke and the other Synoptics.

Baur. (10) *Baur* makes Luke proceed from Matthew, reflecting the primitive Christianity of the Jewish Church of the Twelve. In opposition to this original Matthew, a Gospel of Luke altogether Pauline was written, which was Marcion's Gospel, and from which proceeded our Canonical Luke, which was the result of a revision

designed to harmonise it with the Jewish-Christian views (140 A.D.).

(11) *Hilgenfeld* denies the opposition admitted by Baur, between the original Matthew and Luke which preceded ours. Luke proceeds from Matthew and Mark, and takes a step forward in the Pauline direction. It was written before Marcion's time (A.D. 100—110).

(12) *Marcion*, son of a Bishop of Pontus (A.D. 140—170), endeavoured to purify the Gospel from Jewish elements; was opposed to the Old Testament as not being the revelation of the Supreme God, who had revealed Himself in Christ. He believed Paul alone had understood Jesus. The only Gospel he received was that of Luke, which he altered by the exclusion of all passages which appeared contrary to his system. This, of course, presupposes the existence of our Luke before Marcion: but this is contested by *Semler* and *Eichhorn*, in the eighteenth century, and by *Ritsch*, *Baur*, *Schwegler*, and *Zeller* in the present century. *Ritschl*, *Hahn*, *Ols-hausen*, *De Wette*, *Harting*, *Hilgenfeld*, and *Volkmar* have opposed this common view, and have maintained the accuracy of the statements of the early Fathers, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Origen*, that *Marcion* used and altered for his purpose the Gospel of St. Luke. *Dr. Davidson* remarks, that "the old opinion will not be seriously disturbed again, as long as the treatises of *Volkmar* exist."

(13) The author of "Supernatural Religion" has, with the rashness of an imperfect knowledge, which comes very near to thorough ignorance, advanced the following opinion. "If we except the Gospel according to the Hebrews, however, Marcion's Gospel is the oldest Evangelical work of which we hear anything, and it ranks far

Marcion.

"Super-natural Religion."

above our third Synoptic in this respect.”¹ In support of this assertion we have references to *Volkmar*, *Holtzmann*, and *Hilgenfeld*. These references, when examined, prove the very contrary.² So much for the maze of tangled hypotheses apart from testimony. The contradictions of the critics inspire distrust in the possibility of the establishment of any satisfactory conclusions. The dates assigned are as diverse as possible. *Tholuck*, *Gueriche*, *Ebrard*, think the Gospel was written before the fall of Jerusalem; *Meyer*, *De Wette*, *Bleek*, *Reuss*, after that event. *Holtzmann* fixes upon 70 to 80; *Keim*, 90; *Volkmar*, 100; *Hilgenfeld*, 100 to 110; *Baur* about 130; *Zeiler* at the beginning of the second century. We believe that the Synoptics and the Acts were written, and in circulation, before the fall of Jerusalem, for which opinion our Saviour’s prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, as related by the Synoptics, is one and a very powerful reason.

Conclu-
sion of
Luke’s
Gospel.

(14) Abbott places Luke so late as A.D. 80 most absurdly, and contrary to all the facts of Paul’s history. The Acts follow the Gospel, and they conclude before the conclusion of Paul’s imprisonment.

17. Luke’s narrative of the events of the evening of the day of the resurrection ends with either verse 44 or 48 of chap. xxiv. In the opinion of Dr. Hanna (“Life of Christ”) the narrative from verse 44 refers to the last appearance of our Lord to His disciples just before His ascension, especially as the command to remain at Jerusalem until they received power from on high was unsuitable to the position of the Apostles on the first day of the resurrection, and to their proceedings after-

¹ “Supernatural Religion,” Vol. III. p. 139. Third Edition. Vol. I. p. xiv; Bishop Lightfoot’s articles in “Contemporary Review.”

² “Speaker’s Commentary,” view.”

wards, as they did leave Jerusalem, and saw the Lord in Galilee (Matthew xxviii. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 6). Some think, and with great probability, that verses 44—48 are a summary of various teachings of our Lord in His training of the Apostles for their future work, and that the last address commences at verse 49. It appears as if the Evangelist is more intent upon connecting our Lord's deliverance during the whole forty days, than in stating the precise locality or time. To these he adverts in the supplementary work, the Acts of the Apostles, chap. i. The fact that to a cursory reader all these facts would "*seem* to have taken place on the day of the resurrection,"¹ is no proof that the writer expected so to be understood, especially as he gives other and fuller information in the Acts. Such rapid transitions are not infrequent in Oriental composition, when the details are assumed, as in this case, to be known to the reader.

18. Among the undesigned proofs of the genuineness of the Gospels is the different names given by the Evangelists to the same lake. The lake in the midst of Switzerland, between Pilatus and the Rigi, used formerly to bear the name of the four cantons. But the town of Lucerne, on its banks, has risen into importance, and given its name to the lake. Formerly the lake was generally spoken of as the Lake of the Four Cantons; now it is almost universally called the Lake of Lucerne. Any one writing of it formerly, called it "the Lake of the Four Cantons;" any one describing it now, would certainly speak of it as the Lake of Lucerne. In the time of the writing of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the Lake of Galilee was called sometimes the Sea of Galilee, and sometimes the Lake of Gennesaret. Hence Matthew and Mark speak of it as "the Sea of

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. III. p. 124.

Galilee"—Matt. iv. 18, "Jesus walking by the Sea of Galilee;" Mark i. 16, "Now as He walked by the Sea of Galilee;" Matt. xv. 29, "Jesus came nigh unto the Sea of Galilee"—and Luke as "the Lake of Gennesaret." Luke v. 1, "Jesus stood by the Lake of Gennesaret."

But John always speaks of it as "the Sea of Tiberias."

In the interval between the writing of the other three Gospels and that by John, the town of Tiberias had been rapidly built on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The town had risen into importance, and given its name to the lake. At the time when John wrote his Gospel, the ordinary name of the lake was the Sea of Tiberias. John adopts the name in common use.

John vi. 1, "Sea of Galilee, which is the Sea of Tiberias;" 23, "Howbeit there came other boats from Tiberias;" John xxi. 1, "After these things Jesus showed Himself to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias." If the Gospels had been fabrications of a later age, the writers would have been careful always to have used the same name in speaking of the same lake. The very difference, therefore, of the name used, is an undesigned coincidence in favour of the truth and genuineness of the Gospels.¹

¹ Communicated by Rev. William Gibson, Paris.

CHAPTER XX.

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

I. John, "*the beloved disciple*," was the son of Zebedee and the brother of James; his mother's name was Salome, supposed in later traditions to have been the daughter of Joseph by his first wife; by others the sister of Mary, the mother of our Lord. The family resided in their own house at Bethsaida, on the Lake of Galilee, and from the fact of their having servants and substance appear to have been in comfortable circumstances (Mark i. 20; Luke viii. 3; John xix. 27). John obeyed our Lord's call (Matt. iv. 21, 22), together with his brother. After our Saviour's death and resurrection he probably resided either at Jerusalem or in Galilee, until his departure to Ephesus, and there died in good old age, A.D. 96 or 100. His claim to the title, "*the disciple whom Jesus loved*," is disputed by *Liitzelberger* in favour of Andrew, while *Späth* prefers Nathanael. *Liitzelberger*, *Keim*, *Scholten*, and *Vogel* deny John's residence in Ephesus, in order to support their views of the date of the Gospel: while, for the same reason, in support of their theory respecting the Apocalypse and earlier controversy, *Baur*, and *Hilgenfeld*, and others are obliged to defend the fact of John's residence in Asia Minor. Some have contended that John the Apostle, and John the Presbyter, mentioned by Eusebius, are the same. Of this opinion are *Zahn*, *Riggen-*

John, the
beloved
disciple.

bach, *Limbach*, and *Milligan* (of Aberdeen). *Godet* deems their reasons inconclusive, and *Meyer* regards "the attempt to make the presbyter, in the quotation from *Papias*, no other than an Apostle," as leading "only to useless controversy."¹

Supple-
mentary
to the
Synoptics.

2. John's Gospel stands in a supplementary relation to the three Synoptists, and purposely so; this is the opinion of *Ewald*, *Ebrard*, *Godet*, *Bishop Wordsworth*, and most of the orthodox commentators. It seems necessary to the completeness of the narrative, and this was one reason of its composition, according to *Eusebius*.² This is confirmed by a tradition preserved in the commentary of *Theodore* of Mopsuestia (A.D. 350—428), quoted in *Smith's "Dictionary,"*³ in which also there is a reference to the peculiarly spiritual and doctrinal character of John's Gospel, in his special testimony to the Divinity of our Lord, and the great fact of His incarnation. This Gospel has been the object of the enthusiastic love and admiration of great and good men in every age and country. *Calvin* says: "It reveals the soul of Christ, the others seek rather to describe His body." *Ernesti* calls it "the heart of Christ;" *Clement of Alexandria* "the spiritual Gospel." On the other hand we may notice the abuse it has received, in striking contrast to the commendations. *Evanson* calls it "a mixture of heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity;" *Luther*, "the one true, tender, main Gospel;" the superintendent *Vogel*, "a production without value or use for our time." Others call it "mystic, confused, a dissolving view, least authenticated, decidedly spurious, mixed with Gnosticism, &c.;" while, since *Irenæus*, it has remained for the sons of the Apostolic Spirit the crown

¹ *Meyer*, "John," Vol. I. p. 7.

² Book III. chap. 24.

³ Vol. I. p. 1113.

of the Apostolic Gospels.¹ The genuineness of this Gospel had been universally accepted except by the *Alogi*, the heretical sect mentioned by *Irenæus* and *Epiphanius*, who attributed it to *Cerinthus*, the opponent of St. John at Ephesus. It was defended against them by *Hippolytus* at the end of the second century. The English deists in the 17th century impugned its character and accuracy, and were replied to by *Le Clerc* and *Lampsi*, as well as by the numerous English divines and others.

3. The modern controversy respecting the authorship and genuineness of this Gospel, which commenced in the last decade of the eighteenth century, has been the most prolific in writers, and, to some extent, in the variety of the matter, the ingenuity of the objections, and the amount of learned research. This is the more singular, considering that this fourth Gospel of St. John, if it had been a mere secular history, would have been accepted without contradiction as genuine, for it is better attested than any ancient classic whatever. The controversy commenced with (1) *Evanson*, a clergyman who had seceded from the English Church, and had become "one of the most decided enemies of revealed religion," who published in 1793, "Dissonance of the Four Generally Received Evangelists, and the Evidence of their Authorship Examined." Like *Marcion*, he rejects all the Gospels except *Luke*, which he mutilates, but remained, we are told, "a firm believer in the Divine mission of Christ." Replies in England were published by *Dr. Priestley*, *Rev. Thos. Falconer*, and *Simpson*. *Evanson's* special objections to John's Gospel are its difference from the Apocalypse, and its resemblance to the Platonic philosophy, from which he imagined it to be a work of the second century by a Platonist.

The
critical
contro-
versy.

Evanson.

¹ Lange's "Introduction to John," p. 24. Imp. 8vo.

(2) *Ekerman* in 1798 controverted the authority of the Gospel, but admitted certain Johannine traditions as the foundation of our present Gospel. So also *Schmidt*, *Claudius*, *Ballenstädt* (1812), *Horst*, who urged (a) non-agreement with the Synoptics; (b) the exaggerated character of the miracles; (c) the metaphysical tone of the discourses; (d) the relation of the theology with that of Philo; (e) the scarcity of literary evidence in the second century. Such was the effect of these reasons upon some individuals, that in 1801 *Vogel*, a Lutheran superintendent, first denied the tradition that John in his later days resided in Asia Minor, and went so far as to cite "the Apostle John and his interpreters to the bar of the last judgment." *Storr* and *Süskind* replied to *Ekermann*, who, with *Schmidt*, professed to retract their doubts. *Eichhorn*, *Hug*, *Bertholdt*, *Wegscheider*, and *Geisler* defended the authenticity of John.

(3) *Bretschneider* (1820), in his "Probabilia," &c., supposed the author to have been a Christian, of Pagan origin, who wrote in the middle of the second century. He was replied to by *Calmberg*, *Hensen*, *Olshausen*, *Crome*, *Hauff*, *Lucke*, *Schleiermacher*, *Schott*, and *Credner*. *Paulus* and *Rettig* endeavoured to distinguish between John the Apostle, and a disciple by whom his genuine statements had been manipulated. *Bretschneider*, however, afterwards recanted his opinion.

(4) *De Wette*, in his "Introduction" (1826), confessed the impossibility of demonstrating the authenticity of the Gospel, but did not oppose it.

(5) *Gfrörer* is inconsistent, at one time calling it "the sanctuary and the truth," at another time "a product of dotage and decay;" while on the other hand, *Meyer*, the most severe and exact of all orthodox critics, regards the Gospel of St. John as "a phenomenon so

sublime and unique among the productions of a Christian spirit, that if it were the creation of an unknown author of the second century, it would be beyond the range of all that is historically conceivable."¹

(6) *Reuter dahl*, in 1826, with *Vogel*, assailed as a forgery, the tradition of John's residence in Asia Minor. In this he was followed by *Lützelberger* in 1840, who thought John was a Samaritan whose parents had emigrated to Mesopotamia about 130—135 A.D. *Donaldson* has examined this theory, and refuted the arguments advanced in its support.²

Lützel-
berger.

(7) *Strauss* adopted *Bretschneider's* views, then on his Mythic theory he settled after his fashion the origin of all the Gospels (1835). But in 1864, in his new "Life of Jesus," he lays aside his notion of a poetic myth, for one of *Baur's* notions, that the Gospel was an invention, a writing for a special party purpose.

(8) *Bruno Baur* (1840) regarded the Gospel as a philosophical and poetic romance, the reflective work of a thinker with a purpose. *Strauss* and *Bruno Baur* were replied to by *Tholuck* and *Neander*, *Hase* and *Ebrard*.

(9) *Weisse*, C. H., cannot reconcile this Gospel with the Synoptics, but admits it to have an Apostolic foundation, especially in the discourses.

(10) *Baur*, F. C., in accordance with his theory, that all the writings of the New Testament are in reality polemical treatises, to support or combat certain theological tendencies in the early Christian Church, supposes the fourth Gospel to be a treaty of peace about 160 A.D., supporting the spiritual reaction of Montanism against the Episcopate, and settling the Paschal controversy in favour of the Western Church. *Zeller* sup-

Baur.

¹ Meyer's "John," Vol. I. p. 136.

² Donaldson's "Introd. to New Testament," Vol. I. pp. 244—253.

ported *Baur's* view, so also *Köstlin*. *Schwegler* carried out more fully *Baur's* views, assigned to each writing of the New Testament its place in the controversy between Apostolic Judæan Christianity and Paulinism, and presented the fourth Gospel as "the final and rich product of that long elaboration of the primitive Christian thought, which was brought about in the controversy between the Pauline and Jewish parties."¹ In reply to *Baur's* theories we have *Ebrard*, *Thiersch*, *Bleek*, *Gueriche*, *Meyer*, *Hauff*, *Weitzel*, *Steitz*, *Bindermann*, *Semisch*, *Niermeyer*, *Hengstenberg*, *Lange*, *Astie*, *Godet*, *Luthardt*, *Sabastien*, *Tischendorff* and *De Pressensé*. *Hase*, *Reuss*, and

Ewald. *Ewald* defend the authorship of John, but not the historical reality of the miracles or of the discourses. Such equivocal defences of the Gospel prove by their admissions, the influence of the work in checking a disposition towards an absolute denial, and compelling a middle view, however illogical and unsatisfactory. We see this in *Baron Bunsen*, "who views the Gospel of John as the only memorial of Evangelical history which proceeded from an eye-witness; who declares that otherwise, 'there is no longer an historical Christ,' and who yet consigns to the domain of fable, a fact so decisive as that of the Resurrection."²

Volkmär. (11) *Volkmär*, in supporting *Baur's* date of 155 or 160 A.D. for "the Gospel of the Logos" (i.e. John), makes the author a disciple of Justin Martyr. This *Meyer* calls "the most extravagant judgment."³

(12) *Hilgenfeld* followed, but modified, the opinion of *Baur*, and fixed the date of the Gospel 130 to 140 A.D. He supposed the Gospel to be intended to introduce a modified form of Gnostic teaching into the Church.

¹ Godet's "John," Vol. I. p. 14.

² Godet's "John," Vol. I. p. 22.

³ Vol. I. p. 40.

(13) *Scholten* (a Dutch professor, 1864) revised the date to 150 A.D., supposed the author to be a Christian of Pagan origin, who aimed at making Gnosticism profitable to the Church. It contained within wise limits the Antinomian reaction of Marcion and the Montanist spiritualism, thus appropriating the truth in all the tendencies of that epoch (the middle of the second century), and presenting to the world "under the figure of a purely ideal disciple of him whom Jesus loved, the perfect spiritual Christianity, which alone could become the universal religion."¹

(14) *Réville*, *D'Eichthal*, and *Stapf*, agree in the main with the Tübingen school; the two former with *Scholten*.

(15) *Keim* (1865) opposes the authenticity of the Gospel on the ground of its philosophical character and non-agreement with the Synoptics. He ridicules *Volkmar's* notion of its dependence upon *Justin Martyr*. He dates it first from about 100 A.D., then to 117 A.D., and lastly to 130 A.D. The author was a Christian of Jewish origin belonging to the "dispersion" of Asia Minor. With *Liitzelberger*, he regarded the residence of John in Asia Minor as a fable, thus opposing himself to the essential point in the theory of *Baur*, viz., the authenticity of the Apocalypse and the sojourn of John in Asia. *Wittichen* agrees mainly with *Keim*, so also *Holtzmann* and *Scholten*, but are opposed by *Steitz*, *Hilgenfeld*, *Krenkel*, &c.

Keim

(16) *Schweizer*, in 1841, thought that the narratives which have Galilee as their locality, and especially the miracles recorded, were not genuine; that the discourses formed the primitive work. The author has since then withdrawn his hypothesis.

(17) *Weizsäcker* thinks there is in the whole narrative an historical character on the one side, also a considerable

¹ Godet's "John," Vol. I. p. 65.

amount of historical substance in the discourses ; a speculative one on the other, the one author giving the facts, and the other the philosophy,—in this respect following *Paulus*.

Schenkel. (18) *Schenkel* thinks the Gospel originated about 110—120 A.D., under the influence of the Christian doctrine of “wisdom” prevailing in Asia Minor. It consists of a number of “cycles of Evangelical tradition, separated from their historical framework, and forced up into the region of eternal thought,” &c.¹

(19) *Tobler* thinks that Apollos, whom he calls the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, wrote this Gospel, embodying with the ideal character of the narrative matter truly historical, chronological, and geographical, received from the Apostle John.

J. Taylor. (20) *J. Taylor*² supported Keim’s view, so also *Dr. S. Davidson*, in his second edition of “Introduction to the New Testament,”³ in direct opposition to his former able vindication of the orthodox view in his “Introduction to the New Testament” (1848). “This great unknown (as he calls the author), in departing from Apostolic tradition, teaches us to rise above it. He has seized the spirit of Christ better than any Apostle, and if, like him, we ascend through their material setting to ideas that bring us into close contact with the Divine ideal of purity to mankind, we shall have a faith superior to that which lives in the visible and miraculous.” These are “*great swelling words*” (Jude v. 14). How is it that this road to the grandest and most sublime ideas is opened to us by an unknown person, and not by one of the Divinely-commissioned Apostles ?

¹ Meyer’s “John,” Vol. I. p. 41.

² J. Taylor’s “Attempts to Ascertain the Character, &c., of the Fourth Gospel,” 8vo, 1867.

³ Davidson’s “Introduction to the New Testament,” Vol. II. p. 323. 1868.

(21) The *author* of an anonymous tract, entitled "Was St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel?" by a *Layman*, (1868), takes a similar view, and after a superficial discussion of the difference between the fourth and the Synoptical Gospels, decides that the fourth Gospel is the product of an author of the second century. On this, *Dr. Schaff* remarks, "The discrepancies between the antagonists of John are far more serious and fatal than the discrepancies between John and the Synoptists. In one thing only they agree—in rejecting the Johannean origin of the fourth Gospel, and, ascribing this sublimest of all literary compositions to an unknown impostor, they make it the greatest mystery in the history of literature."¹

(22) *The Rev. E. A. Abbott, D.D.*,² gives us the latest theory of the origin of St. John's Gospel. He writes in a reverent spirit, as might be expected from his position in the Church of England: looking, however, merely at the human element in the four Gospels, and apparently ignoring the presence of the promised help of the Holy Spirit (John xvi. 12—16), he falls short of a right conception of the character of the Gospel, and of the nature of the problem as to the origin of such a work at so late a period, and so long after the Synoptists had written. Leave out of the discussion the Divine inspiration bestowed upon the Apostles and Evangelists, and the reasonableness of the miraculous in common with a revelation from God, and it will then be impossible to judge fairly and truly of the Gospels, whether the Synoptists or the Gospel ascribed to John. The deficiency and obscurity of the human element when rightly considered, only tend to bring into clearer light

E. A.
Abbott.

¹ Lange's "John," Imp. 8vo, p. 25.

² "Ency. Brit.," Ninth Edition, Vol. IX. p. 841.

the marvellous excellency of the spiritual revelation, of which the human element is but the material framework. We give his conclusion in his own words: "It is more easy to arrive at negative than at positive results, when evidence is so slight; but it seems probable that the author, attempting to give the spiritual essence of the Gospel of Christ, as a Gospel of Love, and assigning the Ephesian Gospel to the beloved disciple who had presided over the Ephesian Church, by way of honour and respect, . . . and being at the same time conscious that the book (though representing the Ephesian doctrine generally, and in part the traditions of John the Apostle, as well as those of Andrew, Philip, Aristion, and John the Elder) did not represent the exact words and teachings of the disciple, added the words, 'We know,' &c., partly as a kind of *imprimatur* of Andrew, Philip, and the rest, partly in order to imply that other traditions besides those of John are set forth in the book; partly to characterise the book as a Gospel of broader basis and greater authority than the less spiritual traditions issuing from non-Apostolic authors, which our Evangelist desired to correct or supplement. Nor is it the least unlikely that this Gospel does represent the teaching of Andrew and Philip, and Aristion and John the Elder, as well as that of John. If Papias of Hierapolis gathered up the traditions of these Apostles and elders, why not also our author, writing in Ephesus perhaps several years before Papias? It is assuredly not for nothing that the name of 'Matthew,' mentioned in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, is not found in the fourth Gospel, nor is it without significance that the Gospel begins and ends with an inner Apostolic circle. The Twelve are indeed mentioned, but as in the background. The *beloved disciple*, Andrew and Peter, Philip and Nathanael—

these and these only are mentioned as called by Jesus in the beginning. Peter and Thomas, Nathanael, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples (presumably the same list as those above, with the addition of James, the son of Zebedee, and Thomas), are mentioned as alone admitted to the sacred meal which closes the Gospel. This fact marks the whole character of the book ; it is esoteric and eclectic, and designedly modifies the impression produced by the tradition previously recorded by the Synoptics." The fact here admitted, that "it is more easy to arrive at negative than positive results," tells in favour of the commonly received opinion of the Churches, which ascribes the authorship to the Apostle John. No such a book could have appeared at the close of the first century, and found acceptance among the Churches, unless the authorship had been known. The existence of "*a great unknown*," the author of the fourth Gospel, is even more unlikely than that of the "*great unknown*" to whom the same class of critics ascribe the authorship of the latter portion of Isaiah. Neither is there the least foundation for the implied petty jealousy and self-magnification of John and his supposed "*inner circle*" of friends. All this is as purely imaginative as much which we read in Renan's romance called "*Vie de Jésus*."

(23) The unwillingness on the part of the learned of the nineteenth century to admit anything like culture as possible among the early Christians, is expressed by Holtzmann, who admits, nevertheless, that "the fundamental ideas of the fourth Gospel lie far beyond the horizon of the Church in the second century, and indeed of the whole Church of Christ to the present day."¹ Others solve the difficulty in another fashion, by suppos-

Holtz-
mann.

¹ Schenkel's Biblical Lexicon.

ing a duality of authors in this Gospel, one who narrates, and another who philosophises.

Date of
John's
Gospel.

4. The date assigned to the production of the fourth Gospel depends upon the character of the theories respecting its origin. While the earlier rationalists, as *Semler*, with *Tittman* and others, considered it to be written first of all, their successors generally place it in the second century. *Baur* assigns it to A.D. 160—170. This late date is necessary to the consistency of his so-called "tendency system." *Volkmar* fixed upon 150—160 A.D.; *Zeller* (since 1853) and *Scholten* (since 1867), 150 A.D.; *Hilgenfeld* (1875) 130—140 A.D.; *Keim* (since 1875) 130 A.D., in 1867, 100—120 A.D.; *Holtzmann* at the beginning of the second century. The opinion hitherto received by the Churches, is that the Gospel was written in the later years of the Apostle, in the last decade of the first century.

Godet.

5. The method of procedure on the part of the opponents of the genuineness of St. John's Gospel, is opposed to all and every document which refers to the history of the first two centuries of the Christian era. If their views are correct, it would seem, to use the words of Godet, "that at that epoch all men capable of writing anything permanent were forgers, and that all trustworthy writers knew only how to compose books destined to sink into oblivion."¹ "Does not the whole of that literature of the second century, and even of the first, whose spuriousness, in order to maintain its assertions," the pseudo "criticism is compelled unsparingly to deride, raise its voice against such a procedure," which would "sweep away true history to make way for an imaginary one, constructed in accordance with *à priori* critical and dogmatic views?"² Again we must

¹ Godet, Vol. I. p. 241.

² P. 246.

quote the weighty words of Godet:¹ "When we calmly pause in presence of all these opinions which fix the composition of this Gospel in the second century, we are struck by the number and diversity of the devices which are necessarily called into action, in order to explain that writing. Here its object is to translate the æons of Valentinus into Christian ideas, there to correct the dualism of Marcion. On the one hand, to adopt the *word* of Justin; on the other, to attribute to the Paraclete of Montanus a more sublime and more general import. Here, definitely to deprive Easter of its Jewish element; there, finally, to catholicise the Church. What a diversity of motives; what a multiplicity of aims! . . . How clear, on the contrary, does everything become if we recognise that the Gospel, instead of being the result of all these heterogeneous tendencies, is the common soil on which they were born, and from which they have developed on all sides by the exaggeration of one of the elements of the truth, which they had borrowed from it, and with which they had each exclusively connected themselves." One of the most able defences of the genuineness of St. John's Gospel is found in Hutton's "Essays," Vol. II., and in Westcott's "Introduction to John's Gospel," in the "Speaker's Commentary," New Test., 8vo, Vol. II., 1880.

6. The impossibility of procuring admission for a new Gospel, falsely put forth as that of John, is placed in a striking point of view by Fisher. "The Church, as Meyer forcibly observes, had a physical and spiritual continuity of life. There was a close connection of its members one with another. . . . The Church was a community—an association. A body of this kind, says Meyer, recognises that which is new as new. It is pro-

Impossibility of the reception of a New Gospel, ascribed to John, by the Eastern Churches.

¹ Godet, Vol. I. p. 246.

tected from imposition. How would it be possible, he inquires, for a new Augsburg Confession to be palmed upon the Lutheran Churches, as a document that had long been generally accepted? In estimating the force of this reasoning, we must take notice of the number of the early Christians. . . In every part of the Roman empire, in all places of consideration, and even in rural districts, Christian assemblies regularly met for worship. And in all these weekly meetings the writings of the Apostles were publicly read, as we learn from so early a writer as Justin Martyr. Now we have to look at the Christian Churches in the second century, and ask if it was possible for a history of Christ, falsely pretending to be from the pen of the Apostle John, to be brought forward twenty, thirty, or forty years after his death, to be introduced into all the Churches east and west, taking its place everywhere in the public services of Sunday? Was there no one of the many who had personally known John to expose the gigantic imposture, or even to raise a note of surprise at the unexpected appearance of so important a document, of which they had never heard before? How was the populous Church at Ephesus brought to accept this work on the very spot where John had lived and died? The difficulty, nay, the moral impossibility, of supposing that this Gospel first saw the light in 160, or 140, or 120 A.D., or at any of the dates which are assigned by the Tübingen critics, will be rendered apparent, if we candidly look at the subject. We have spoken of Irenæus, of his testimony to the undisputed, undoubted reception by all the Churches of the fourth Gospel. If this Gospel first appeared as late as, or later than, 120 A.D., how does it happen that he had not learned the fact from the aged presbyters whom he had known in Asia Minor? Irenæus,

before becoming bishop, was the colleague of Pothinus at Lyons, who perished as a martyr, having, as the letter of his Church states, passed his ninetieth year. Here was a man whose active life extended back well-nigh to the very beginning of the century, who was born before John died. Supposing John's Gospel to have appeared as late as 120 A.D., the earliest date admitted by any part of the sceptical school, Pothinus was then upwards of thirty years old. Did this man, who loved Christianity so well that he submitted to torture and death for its sake, never think to mention to Irenæus an event of so great consequence as was this late discovery of a life of the Lord from the pen of His most beloved disciple, and of its reception by the Churches? Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, at the time of his controversy with Victor, describes himself as being "sixty-five years of age in the Lord," as having conferred with the brethren throughout the world, and studied the whole of the Sacred Scriptures; as being also of a family seven of whose members had held the office of bishop or presbyter. According to this statement, his own life began as early at least as the year 125 A.D., while through his family he was directly connected with the contemporaries of John. How is it that Polycrates appears to have known nothing about this late appearance of the wonderful Gospel which bore the name of John, but was the work of a great unknown? &c., &c."¹

7. The differences in the matter of St. John's Gospel from that contained in the Synoptists, implies no contradiction, and presents no difficulty in the way of harmonious agreement. The main topic of the fourth Gospel is the Judaic ministry of Jesus, while that of the Synoptics is the Galilean ministry. There is an indirect

Difference
in the
contents
of John's
Gospel
and the
Synoptics.

¹ Fisher's "Supernatural Origin of Christianity," pp. 76—78, 8vo, 1870.

but distinct proof of a protracted ministry of Jesus in Judæa in the first three Gospels, which is not by them recorded. They refer to a repeated residence of Jesus in Jerusalem (Matthew xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34). So in Acts x. 37, 39, St. Peter declares Christ to have preached "*throughout all Judæa*," and the Apostles are called "*witnesses of all things which He did, both in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem.*" John was acquainted (unquestionably, says Luthardt) with the Gospel history as reported by the Synoptics, and refers to various facts, John ii. 12, iii. 24, xi. 2, xviii. 24—28; he presupposes, also, and confirms Jesus' Galilean ministry, chapter vi. 6.¹

The
Gospel,
the Epis-
tles, the
Apoca-
lypse all
by John.

8. *That the author of the first Epistle is the Apostle John*, may be considered as settled by the almost unanimous testimony of the Churches of antiquity. On internal grounds it has been questioned by *Lange*, *Cludius*, *Bretschneider*, and *Zeller*. With regard to the second and third Epistles, while the external testimony is not decidedly in their favour, the internal evidence is peculiarly strong. Their probably private character may be the reason of their not being readily received by the early Church. The impossibility of the Apocalypse being written by the author of the fourth Gospel is maintained by *Bleek*, *De Wette*, and *Baur*. Some of these think the Apocalypse to be by John and the Gospel by another; others give the Gospel to John, and the Apocalypse to another. The authorship of the Apocalypse by John is the testimony of all antiquity; the difference in style, &c., may be easily accounted for—the Apocalypse was probably written thirty or forty years before the Gospel.

9. The different character and scope of the discourses

¹ See Fisher's "Intro.," pp. xxxiii., xxxiv. See Davidson, "Int. New Test.," Vol. I. pp. 293—299.

of our Lord in the Synoptics and in John's Gospel, arise out of the spiritual necessities of the Churches differing at two different periods. The Synoptics give the more simple elements of Christian teaching; St. John, writing for a more matured condition of the Church, dwells mainly upon the higher nature of Christ. But in the discourses recorded in Matthew xi. 27, xxii. 41, and in Mark xii. 25, and in Luke xx. 41, the high claims of Christ are, also, fully set forth. The parallelisms in style and thought in the discourses of the Synoptists and those recorded in John, are exhibited in Godet in his "Commentary."¹ There is also another matter to notice. It is a matter of no small interest to us, whether the discourses of our Lord in St. John are "a verbally accurate report, or the result of a thorough inward digestion and assimilation on the part of the Evangelist, consequent on the length of time that had elapsed since they were heard."² It is evident that Jesus must have spoken very much more than what is embraced in the Synoptical reports. How obvious, for instance, that in that last long interview with His disciples, extending from the time when they sat down at the table to the moment of His arrest in the garden, He must have spoke vastly more than the first three Gospels record. It is certain, from isolated passages found in the Synoptists, that He conversed at times in the style of the Johannean discourses. St. John's report of the discourses is faithfully given, and presents to us, guaranteed by the Divine inspiration of the writer, the very pith and essence of our Lord's teachings. To give us them word by word was impossible, but no doubt the very words of our Lord are mostly retained; so that the very outward expression to a large extent is preserved for us.

The discourses of our Lord reported in John's Gospel.

¹ Vol. I. pp. 143—162.

² Fisher, p. 113.

The language and style of the Gospel is that of the Hellenistic Greek of the Apostolical writers generally, modified by the peculiar character of the writer's intellect. *Dr. Schaff* happily describes it "as altogether unique; it is pure Hebrew soul in a pure Greek body; thus I reconcile the apparently contradictory judgments of two of the most eminent Oriental scholars." "In its true spirit and afflatus," says *Ewald*, "no language can be more genuinely Hebrew than that of John." "His style," says *Renan*, "has nothing Hebrew, nothing Jewish, nothing Talmudic." *Renan* looks to the surface, *Ewald* to the foundation."¹

Disputed
portions
of John's
Gospel.

10. The genuineness of chapter viii. 1—11, has been doubted (1) by *Erasmus*, *Beza*, *Grotius*, *Le Clerc*, *Wetstein*, *Semler*, *Paulus*, *Schultze*, *Knapp*, *Lücke*, *Tholuck*, *Olshausen*, *Bleek*, *De Wette*, *Baur*, *Reuss*, *Luthardt*, *Meyer*, *Morus*, *Hænlein*, *Schmidt*, *Ewald*, *Hengstenberg*, *Scrivener*, *Godet*, *Lachmann*, *Tischendorff*, *Hort*, *Tregelles*, *Alford*, and *Westcott*. Not as a forgery but as an interpolation of a true history, *Calvin* is disposed to reject it. It is considered as genuine by *Mill*, *Whitby*, *Fabricius*, *Lange*, *Maldonatus*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, *Bengel*, *Michaelis*, *Middleton*, *Heumann*, *Langius*, *Deltmers*, *Storr*, *Kuinöel*, *Hug*, *Scholtz*, *Klee*, *Maier*, *Stäudlin*, *Horne*, *Owen*, *Webster*, *Bloomfield*, *Wilkinson*, *Wieseler*, *Ebrard*, *Stier*, and *Lange*. The question is not as to the truth of the narrative, but whether it formed originally a portion of the Gospel of John. It is not found in the Alexandrian, Vatican, Sinaitic, and other ancient MSS., nor in the early Italic and Syriac versions. (2) Chapter xxi. verses 1—23, has been doubted. *Ewald* thinks that the first twenty chapters were written by the Apostle, A.D. 80, and that chapter xxi. was added afterwards by

¹ *Lange's "John,"* Introduction, p. xi.

himself. Among the doubters are *Grotius, Le Clerc, Pfaff, Semler, Paulus, Gurlett, Bertholdt, Seyffrath, Lücke, De Wette, Schott, Credner, Bleek, Baur, Keim, and Schotten*. Among those who regard it as genuine are *Father Simon, Lange, Wetstein, Osiander, Michaelis, Beck, Eichhorn, Hug, Wegscheider, Schleiermacher, Hamdschke, Weber, Westcott, Tholuck, Guericke, Meyer, Olshausen, Luthardt, Godet, and Alford*. (3) Chapter xxi. verses 24 and 25, are considered generally as added by the elders of the Ephesian Church. *Professor Cassel* thinks that the Apostle John wrote the last chapter, and endorsed the rest, which was written by his brother James; while *Dr. Schaff* called this last supposition about James "a worthless fancy."¹

II. Among the many helps to the understanding of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, we may refer to the admirable works recently published by Canon Farrar and Dr. Geikie. The *Lives of Christ* and of *St. Paul* by the former, and the "Life of Christ" by the latter, supply information previously inaccessible to the general reader, and are indispensable to the student. They must be studied to be rightly appreciated. These works have given an impetus to the study of the Gospel history, from which the Churches will largely profit.

¹ Lange's "John," p. 629.

CHAPTER XXI.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Luke the Author of the Acts. I. That the writer of this book is LUKE, is evident from the reference to the Gospel (chap. i. 1) as addressed to the same Theophilus, to whom the Acts is also addressed. With few exceptions, this is admitted as confirmed by the results of Modern Criticism. The title is of high antiquity, being found in the oldest MSS. and the most ancient versions, the Syriac and the Coptic, in the Canon Muratori, and in the earliest Apocryphal writings. It gives generally the object of the work, which was to continue a history of the work which *Jesus began to do and to teach* (chap. i. 1), and which His disciples were enabled to continue by the help of the Holy Spirit which Christ had promised (chap. i. 8). It was this "*power from on high*" which enabled them to be *His witnesses "in Jerusalem, in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth"* (chap. i. 8). Hence it is called by Chrysostom "*the Gospel of the Spirit.*"

Value of the Acts. 2. The importance of the Acts cannot be exaggerated. "It is the only source from which we derive any direct, nay, in many points, any positive, knowledge of most momentous facts which belong to the very foundation of the Christian Church. . . . The first twenty years would be, so to speak, a blank so far as regards the history of the first Christians—a blank with some rays of scattered light from the Epistles, of which the earliest was written

A.D. 52—had not St. Luke been moved by the Spirit to record what he learned touching that period during his intercourse with St. Paul.¹ The abrupt conclusion of the Acts, as it appears to Canon Farrar and others,² will not appear such to others who remember that it testifies to the rejection *formally* by the Jews at Rome of the Gospel, and the consequent transference of the Church to the Gentiles (chap. xxviii. 25—28, 30).

3. That the writer was the companion of Paul, and writes that portion of his history which refers to Paul from personal knowledge, will appear clearly by a reference to his narrative: "The first person gives place to the third at chap. xvii. 1, as Paul and Silas left Luke behind at Philippi. The non-mention of Luke in Paul's Epistles is due to his not having been with him at Corinth (chap. xviii.), whence the two Epistles to the Thessalonians were written, nor at Ephesus (chap. xix.), whence he wrote to the Romans, nor at Corinth again, whence he wrote to the Galatians. The first person is not resumed till chap. xx. 5, 6, at Philippi, the very place where the first person implies he was with Paul two years before (chap. xvi.). . . . Thenceforward to the close, which leaves Paul at Rome, the first person shows Luke was his companion (Colos. iv. 14). Philemon (verse 24), written there and then, declares his presence in Rome. The undesigned coincidence remarkably confirms the truth of his authorship and of the history. Just as in those Epistles written from places where in the Acts the first person is dropped, Luke is not mentioned, but Silas and Timothy are (1 and 2 Thessalonians, chap. i.; 1 and 2 Corinthians, chap. i. 19, compared with Acts xxvii. 5). But in the Epistles, written when we

The writer
a com-
panion of
Paul.

¹ "Speaker's Commentary, New Test.," Acts, p. 311.

² Farrar's "Life of St. Paul," Vol. II. p. 510.

know from Acts xxviii. the writer was with Paul, we find Luke mentioned. Alford conjectures that as, just before Luke's joining Paul at Troas (chap. xvi. 10), Paul had passed through Galatia, where he was detained by sickness (Galatians iv. 13), . . . Luke became Paul's companion owing to the weak state of the Apostle's health, and left him at Philippi, when he was recovered, which would account for the epithet "beloved."¹ The book was most probably written at Rome before Paul's release from his first imprisonment, or soon after. The style of the book after the twelfth chapter is in purer Greek than in the previous chapters; this arises from the probable incorporation of Aramaic documents in the earlier chapters literally translated. These may have been received through James and the Elders of the Jewish Church, or others. *Credner* thinks these chapters were written by John Mark; *Feilmater* and *Schneckenberger* think that Philip is the main authority for the first twelve chapters. *J. Hamblen Smith* thinks that "especial and frequent reference is made to Thucydides, and that the large number of words and phrases common to the six books of Thucydides and the Acts can only be accounted for by the writer's familiarity with at least a part of these."²

Unity of
the Acts.

4. The unity of the book is contended for by *Meyer*, *Gersdorf*, *Credner*, *Zeller*, *Lakebusch*, *Klostermann*, *Oertel*, *De Wette*, &c., on the ground of "the uniformity in the character of its diction and style, . . . from the mutual references of indirect passages, and also for that unity in the tenor and connection of the essentially leading ideas which pervades the whole. This similarity is of such a nature, that it is compatible with a more or less inde-

¹ Fausset's, "Bib. Cyclopæd.," pp. 13, 14.

² "Short Notes on the Greek Text of the Acts," 1879.

pendent manifestation of different documentary sources, which are strung together with little essential alteration."¹ This fact is ingeniously regarded by Canon Cooke, as an anticipation of the improved mode of historical writing, as presented to us in the history of M. A. Thiery, who first ventured "to give life and variety to his narrative, not to speak of picturesque effect, by the insertion of long passages differing in style and local colouring from his own composition;"² but this practice had already helped to give a large degree of life to the historical books of the Old Testament, though it may have contributed to increase to us the difficulty of explaining occasionally the cohesion of the narrative. There are, however, specific objections to this unity. (1) *Dr. S. Davidson* thinks that the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters are from a journal of the parties concerned; that in chap. xix. 16, something has been omitted; that there is a want of pragmatistical connection between the eleventh and twelfth chapters, and a certain looseness of junction between several paragraphs of the book, which imply that Luke used his material carelessly; that the letters in chap. xv. 23—29, and xviii. 26—30, must have been taken from written documents, and that the leading discourses and speeches were taken from written sources.³ *Eichhorn* thought that the speeches were the composition of Luke himself; and *De Wette*, quoting from *Tholuck*, thinks "that the discourses of Paul are narrated more in the language of Luke than of Paul." It is, however, admitted that all the speeches recorded are in character with the persons to whom they are attributed; and as to the peculiarities of the style of Luke's

The
Higher
Criticism
on the Acts

¹ Meyer's "Acts," pp. 3, 4.

² "Speaker's Com.," "Acts,"

³ "Intro. to the New Testament," 1848, Vol. II. p. 22.

report of Paul's speeches and discourses, Dr. Davidson remarks that "these are largely to be attributed to the moulding influence of the Apostle." Most of the apparent difficulties noted by Davidson may arise from the imperfect condition of the text of this book, which has suffered greatly from the carelessness of copyists, and from interpolations on the part of critics. Some of these are chap. viii. 37, part of chap. ix. 5, 6, the middle part of chap. xxiv. 6—8, to which some add chap. xxviii. 29. (2) *Schwanbeck* makes some objection to portions of the narrative, which appear to him not to agree with others. He thinks there was a document by Silas, another by Barnabas, of Stephen's address, and that these materials were worked up by an editor who lived long after Luke. This reference to supposed documents and supposed editors has been sharply reprov'd by *Heinrichs*: "Of documents whose names, nature, language, as well as the extent to which they were used by a writer who is said to have been indebted for his material to them, can be gathered only out of the shadowy region of conjecture, one would think no mind that is accustomed to weigh evidence would think it worth while to take any notice."¹ This reproof applies to most of the Higher Criticism of the Old and New Testament. To reply to such guesses would be simply to oppose one guess to another. (3) *Schleiermacher*, *Bleek*, *Ulrich*, *De Wette*, have added to the critical and useless guesses and suppositions, and think that Timothy was the eye-witness of the Apostolical journeying, and not Luke; and he who thus employs the first person in some portions, is the same who elsewhere uses the third person singular when not himself present. (4) *Mayerhoff*, consistently ascribes the whole book, and especially chaps. xiii., xiv., xv. to

¹ Kitto's "Biblical Encyclopædia," W. L. Alexander, Vol. I. p. 51.

Timothy ; but *De Wette*, *Baur*, *Schwegler*, *Zeller*, *Köstlin*, *Hilgenfeld*, think the Acts was not composed by any companion of the Apostle. In reference to these hypotheses, we may remark, in the words of Davidson, Davidson. "Surely all this is mere trifling, utterly unworthy of serious notice ; but it shows the self-delusion of theorists, who succeed in persuading themselves of *anything*, when once they resolve to be *wise above* and even *contrary* to that which is written. There is no possibility in grasping such shadowy conjectures. To call them *evidence*, or even *slight presumption*, were to dignify them with a title to which they have no pretension.¹ With Meyer, we may safely conclude that "on the whole, the Meyer. book remains, in connection with the historical references in the Apostolical Epistles, the fullest and surest source of our knowledge of the Apostolical times, of which we always attain most completely a trustworthy view when the Book of Acts bears part in this testimony, although, in many respects, the Epistles have to be brought in, not merely as supplementary, but also in various parts as decidedly against particular statements of our book."² The last remark needs to be explained : Meyer thought that Acts xi. 12, was "*in part unhistorical*," and that Paul probably went only part of the way with Barnabas.³

5. Certain discrepancies in the narrative in the Acts may be noticed *in the history of St. Paul's conversion*. Account
of the
conversion
of St.
Paul. We put it as stated by a writer of high character, J. Donaldson, but whose desire to be fair leads him always to give the objection as forcibly as possible, while partially ignoring the replies which have appeared satisfac-

¹ "Introduction to the New Testament," 1848, Vol. I. p. 19.

³ Meyer's "Galatians," pp. 63—65.

² Meyer's "Acts," Vol. I. p. 8.

tory to all the more reasonable and learned critics. "In the Acts we have three accounts of the conversion of St. Paul: the first by the writer himself, the other two by St. Paul in his speeches. The writer states (ix. 4—7) that when the light shone round Paul, he fell to the ground, 'but the men who were journeying with him stood dumb;' St. Paul himself says (xxvi. 14) that they all fell to the ground. The writer says (ix. 7) that Paul's companions heard the voice, but saw no one; St. Paul himself says (xxii. 9) that his companions saw the light, but did not hear the voice of him who spake unto him. And, finally, all these accounts differ in their report of what was said on the occasion."¹ We may remark, that probably St. Paul's addresses in the Acts are abridged by the writer, hence we may easily account for trifling discrepancies as only apparent and which would not appear in a full and more detailed narrative, and especially for the briefer or more lengthened account of the words spoken by our Lord, in which there is no discrepancy but simply a difference in length and fullness. The men might have fallen to the ground and afterwards have stood speechless; they might have heard a sound as of a voice, and yet not have heard distinct articulations of *Him* who spake to Paul. The variations are "natural in the records of a manifestation which was partial to some and complete to one only."² The general truth of the narrative is admitted by the writer in the "Encyclopædia." "Notwithstanding these differences, even these very accounts contain evidence in them that they were written by the same writer, and they do not destroy the force of the rest of the evidence."

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th Ed., Vol. I. p. 124.

"English Commentary on the New Testament," Three Vols.

² Dr. Plumptre on Acts ix. 3,

4to, Cassell.

We may add, that the state of the text of the Acts is considered by all scholars as most unsatisfactory. One MS. of this book, that of the Codex Bezae, has six hundred interpolations and has been compared from its diffusiveness to a Targum, or paraphrase, while other critics regard it as being the nearest approach to the original text. These variations, however, in the text do not affect any point of importance, whether historical or doctrinal.

6. So important are the fact and the narrative also of the conversion of St. Paul that we give with great satisfaction the account (abridged) in Canon Farrar's "Life of St. Paul."¹ "But that which happened was not meant for those who journeyed with Saul (Acts ix. 7; Daniel x. 7). It was meant for him, and of that which he saw and which he heard, he confessedly could be the only witness. They could only say that a light had shone from heaven, but to Saul it was a light from Him who is the Light of the City of God—a ray from the light which no man can approach unto (1 Tim. vi. 14—16; 2 Cor. xii. 1). And about that which he saw and heard he never wavered. It was the secret of his inmost being; it was the most unutterable conviction of his soul; it was the very crisis and most intense moment of his life: others might hint at explanations or whisper doubt (as in the Clementine Homilies, xvii. 13). Saul *knew*. At that instant God had shown him *His* secret and *His* covenant. God had found him, had flung him to the ground in the career of victorious outrage to lead him henceforth in triumph a willing spectacle to angels and to men. . . . From that moment Saul was converted. A change—total, utter, final—had passed over him, had transformed him. God had called him, *had revealed His*

Canon
Farrar's
remarks
on the
conversion of
St. Paul.

¹ Two Vols. 8vo, 1879.

Son in him, . . . had shone in his heart to give "*the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ*" (2 Cor. iv. 6). And the means of this mighty change all lay in this sure fact—at that awful moment he had seen the Lord Jesus Christ. To him, the persecutor—to him as to the abortive-born of the Apostolic family, the risen, the glorified Jesus had appeared. He had been apprehended by Christ. On that appearance, all his faith was formed ; on that pledge of resurrection, of immortality to himself, and to the dead who die in Christ, all his hopes were anchored. . . . The strength of this conviction became the leading force in Paul's future life. . . . For though there may be trivial variations, obviously reconcilable, and absolutely unimportant, in the thrice-repeated accounts of the events, yet in the narration of the main fact there is no shadow of variation, and no possibility of doubt. . . . As we read the story of it, if we have one touch of reverence within our souls, shall we not take off our shoes from off our feet, for the place whereon we stand is holy ground?" Canon Farrar supposes (with great reason) that Saul had been for some time under strong misgivings as to the truth taught by the Apostles in Jerusalem. "In his speech before Agrippa it might seem as if much had been spoken there. But in this instance again it may be doubted whether, after the first appalling question, 'Shaul, Shaul, why persecutest thou Me?' which remained branded so vividly upon his heart, Paul could himself have said how much of the revelation, which henceforth transfigured his life, was derived from the actual moment when he lay blinded and trembling on the ground, and how much from the subsequent hour of deep external darkness and brightening in new light. In the annals of human lives

there have been other spiritual crises analogous to this in their startling suddenness, in their absolute finality. To many the resurrection from the death of sin is a slow and lifelong process ; but others pass with one thrill of conviction, with one spasm of energy, from death to life, from the power of Satan unto God. . . . As the anatomist may dissect every joint, and lay bare every nerve of the organism, yet be infinitely distant from the discovery of the principle of life, so the critic and grammarian may decipher the dim syllables, and wrangle about the disputed discrepancies, but it is not theirs to interpret. If we would in truth understand such spiritual experiences, the records of them must be read by a light that never was on land or sea." The history declares positively that the glorified Christ appeared to him, and we cannot interpret it in any other light. But Paul's own accounts show that the objective manifestation of Christ was mediated by a visionary or ecstatic elevation of Saul himself (Acts ix. 7, xxii. 9). Baur at first regarded the event as a purely subjective process in Paul's own mind, but after a renewed investigation, arrived at the conclusion that the conversion of Paul was an enigma which cannot be satisfactorily solved by any psychological or dialectical analysis. . . . The character and Apostolic life of Paul, and the very origin and continued existence of the Christian Church, are an inexplicable mystery, without the miracle of the actual resurrection of our Saviour.¹ We are constrained to quote the following most convincing statement of the bearing of Paul's conversion upon the evidences of Christianity. "Henceforth to Paul Christianity was summed up in the one word Christ. And what does he testify about Jesus? To almost every single,

¹ Schaaf's "Notes to Lange's Romans," imp. 8vo. p. 5.

St. Paul's
conversion in its
bearing
upon the
evidences
of Chris-
tianity.

primary, important fact respecting *His* incarnation, life, sufferings, betrayal, last supper, trial, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and heavenly revelation. We complain that nearly two thousand years have passed away, and that the brightness of historical events is apt to fade, and even their very outline to be obliterated as they sink into the 'dark backwood and abyss of time.' Well, but are we more keen-sighted, more hostile, more eager to disprove the evidence, than the consummate legalist, the admired rabbi, the commissioner of the Sanhedrim, the leading intellect in the schools—learned as Hillel, patriotic as Judas of Gaulon, burning with zeal for the law as intense as that of Shimmai? He was not separated from the events, as we are, by the dazzling glimmer of a victorious Christendom. He had mingled daily with men who had watched from Bethlehem to Golgotha the life of the Crucified—not only with His simple-hearted followers, but with His learned and powerful enemies. He had talked with the priests who had consigned Him to the cross; he had put to death the followers who had wept beside His tomb; he had to face the unutterable horror which to an orthodox Jew was involved in the thought of a Messiah who 'had hung upon a tree.' He had heard again and again the proofs which satisfied an Annas and a Gamaliel that Jesus was a deceiver of the people. The events on which the Apostle relied in proof of *His* divinity, had taken place in the full blaze of contemporary knowledge. He had not to deal with uncertainties of criticism, or assaults on authenticity. He could question, not ancient documents, but living men; he could analyse, not fragmentary records, but existing evidence. He had thousands of means close at hand whereby to test the reality or unreality of the resurrection, in which up

to this time he had so passionately and contemptuously disbelieved. In accepting this half crude and wholly execrated faith, he had everything in the world to lose—he had nothing conceivable to gain; and yet, in spite of all—overwhelmed by a conviction which he felt to be irresistible—Saul, the Pharisee, became a witness of the resurrection, a preacher of the cross.”¹ (We would also recommend to the reader Lord Lyttleton’s pamphlet on the “Resurrection,”² of which, strange to say, we seldom find any notice in modern works, some of which are of far less value to the Christian reader.)

7. Another apparent discrepancy between the history in the Acts, and the reference in the Epistle to the Galatians, is pointed out by the writer in the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” already referred to.³ An omission of the second private mission of Barnabas and Paul to carry relief to the Church at Jerusalem is found in the Epistle to the Galatians, chapter ii., though recorded in Acts xi. 30. That visit had nothing to do with Paul’s argument as to his equality with the Apostles at Jerusalem; as they appear to have been absent, scattered by the then prevailing persecution, it is not by any means inconsistent with the statement in Galatians ii. The third visit, related in chapter xv. 2, is undoubtedly that referred to in Galatians ii. 1, 2.⁴ The two visits to Jerusalem mentioned by Paul are the visits which had brought him in contact with the other Apostles. Between the period of his conversion and his flight from Damascus, Paul had been in Arabia and had returned to Damascus; but after three years had visited Jerusalem, when he saw Peter and James and the Lord’s brother

Sundry discrepancies between Acts xi. 30, and Galatians ii. 1, 2.

¹ Canon Farrar’s “Life of St. Paul,” Vol. I. pp. 180—204.

² The best edition is that published by the Tract Society.

³ “Encyclopædia Britannica,” “Acts,” Vol. I. p. 124.

⁴ Farrar’s “Life of St. Paul,” Vol. I. p. 405.

(compare Acts ix. 19—25 with 2 Corinthians xi. 32, 33, and Galatians i. 17—19). It is further objected that Paul in the Acts is only called *an apostle* in connection with Barnabas, who was not one of the Twelve. Paul himself admits that he was not one of the original Twelve, but "*one born out of due time*" (1 Corinthians xv. 8), but claims himself to be duly qualified; *he had seen the Lord*, and was a witness to His resurrection and kingly glory. He had recognised Him—"Who art Thou, Lord?" (Acts ix. 5)—and asserts his Apostleship partly on this ground (1 Corinthians ix. 1—6). So, also, the account in Acts i. 18 of the mode of Judas's death, is not contrary to Matthew xxvii. 5, but simply an addition.

Historical
differences

8. There are some historical blunders charged upon the author of the Acts, to which we must briefly refer.

(a) The account of the death of Herod Agrippa the First, in Acts xii. 21—23, differs in some particulars from the account of the same event in Josephus.¹ Josephus says

Death of
Herod
Agrippa.

Herod entered the theatre, celebrating a festival in honour of Cæsar, and robed in a garment entirely of silver, upon which the rays of the sun fell, and that such an impression was produced on the people that his flatterers called out he was God, and that he, affected by the presence of an owl, regarded this as the harbinger of evil, and was immediately attacked with pains in his bowels and died. Luke's account is perfectly reconcilable, though there is an additional circumstance not mentioned by Josephus, viz., that Herod was giving audience to deputies from Tyre and Sidon, which is quite compatible with his being in the theatre attending to the games; the supposed difference has no existence.

(b) In Acts chapter xxi. 38, there is an allusion to an

¹ "Antiquities," xix. 8.

Egyptian, "which before those days" had made "an uproar and had led" "out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers." It is to this that Josephus refers,¹ giving herein the number as 30,000, which is probably that of the massed multitude, while in Acts the number of the *Sicari*—the leaders—are only mentioned. (c) In Acts v. 35—39, Gamaliel speaks of one *Theudas*, who had "*before these days*" made an insurrection, and after him "*Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing*," &c. Here the dates differ from the statement of Josephus, who fixes the rebellion of Theudas in the reign of Claudius, ten years after Gamaliel had spoken of him, while Judas appeared at the time of the registration, considerably before Theudas. The reply of Lardner is, that there were two Theudas, just as there were several impostors of the name of Simon and of Judas.

Theudas
and
Judas.

9. The relation of the Acts to the Epistles of St. Paul is that of mutual correspondence in a series of facts to which both refer—the one in the regular narrative of events, the other in incidental notices in a series of epistles addressed to the Churches. It is obvious that the writer of the Acts had no acquaintance with the Epistles, and the writer of the Epistles had never seen the Acts, which were probably not written till after his death. In the HORÆ PAULINÆ of *Paley*, these coincidences are noted and counted up in a way peculiarly that of *Paley*. . . To refer to them would be to rewrite the "*Horæ Paulinæ*," which is, or ought to be, in the hands of every one interested in the criticism of the New Testament. We may also refer to *Birks' HORÆ APOSTOLICÆ*. The impression left on the mind by the diligent study of this sort of incidental evidence, coming as it does to confirm the direct testimony of history, is

Coinci-
dences
between
the Acts
and the
Epistles
of Paul.

¹ "Antiquities," xx. 8, and in the "Wars of the Jews," xiii. 5.

one which cannot be shaken. External testimony, accompanied by this internal evidence, comes as near as possible to absolute certainty. Professor Jowett, in his "Epistles of Paul," has endeavoured to show that *some* of Paley's "undesigned coincidences" are not quite clear, but even admitting this, the major part of them remain unaffected by his criticism.

Canon
Farrar on
the Acts.

10. The Acts of the Apostles was from the first generally received by the Christian Church, the only opposition being from the heretical sects—the Ebionites, Manicheans, Encratites, Marcionites, &c. The opinion of the ante-Nicene Church is given by Eusebius, who places the Acts among the uncontested books. *Canon Farrar*, the last biographer of St. Paul, thus records his opinion :¹ "Of the Acts of the Apostles . . . I will at present only express my conviction that even if we admit that it was 'an ancient Eirenicon,' intended to check the strife of parties by showing that there had been no irreconcilable opposition between the views and ordinances of St. Peter and St. Paul, . . . yet the Acts of the Apostles is in all its main outline a genuine and trustworthy history. Let it be granted that in the Acts we have a picture of essential unity between the followers of the Judaic and the Pauline schools of thought, which we might conjecture from the Epistles to have been less harmonious and undisturbed ; let it be granted that in the Acts we more than once see Paul acting in a way which, from the Epistles, we should *à priori* have deemed unlikely. Even these concessions are fairly disputable. Yet in granting them we only say, what is in itself sufficiently obvious, that both records are confessedly fragmentary. They are fragmentary, of course, because neither of them even professes to give us any continuous

¹ Vol. I. pp. 7, 8.

narrative of the Apostle's life." The theories of *Baur's* criticisms, and of the Tübingen school's notions of the various tendencies of the Acts, and of all the books of the New Testament alluded to by Canon Farrar, have been already noticed in chap. xvii. pp. 135—139. The comment of *Bleek* upon these theories is pertinent to this subject.¹ "Such a notion (*i.e.* that of the partisan character of the Acts) presupposes such deliberate purpose and calculated cunning on the author's part as must appear altogether unlikely, if we submit without prejudice to the impressions which a simple perusal of his work makes upon us."

¹ Bleek's "Introduction to the New Testament," Vol. I. pp. 353, 354.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.

Epistles
of Paul.

I. Thirteen Epistles are ascribed to St. Paul in the Canon of the New Testament (exclusive of that to the Hebrews, the authorship of which is disputed). Other Epistles have been supposed. (1) One to the Corinthians, written before the first of the canonical Epistles (alluded to in 1 Cor. v. 9). (2) Another, supposed to have been written between the sending of the first and second Epistles; and that this is the letter referred to in the second Epistle is the opinion of *Neander*, *Olshausen*, *Ewald*, *Bilroth*, *Bleek*, *Credner*, and the *Rev J. L. Davies*,¹ but opposed by *Kling*, *Müller*, *Wurm*, *Ruckert*, *De Wette*, *Baur*, *Reuss*, *Wieseler*, *Davidson*, and *Stanley*; while *Alford*, *Conybeare* and *Horne*, and *Bishop Ellicott*, write as if undecided on this point. (3) The Epistle to the Laodiceans, referred to in *Colossians* iv. 16, is, after a full discussion of the various theories, identified with the Epistle to the Ephesians by *Bishop Lightfoot*² and *Professor Milligan*.³ It is known to have been despatched at the same time with the Epistle to the Colossians. (4) The apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans is composed of extracts from the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians. (5) A second Epistle to the Philippians exists only in the imagination of the critics.

¹ Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," Vol. II. p. 750.

² Bishop Lightfoot's "Colossians," &c., pp. 347 and 340.

³ "Encyclopædia Britannica," article "Ephesians," Volume VIII.

Chrono-
logy of
the life of
St. Paul.

2. Chronological systems, affecting to give the exact dates of the narratives in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and the time when the several Epistles were written, vary a few years as to dates, though there is a general agreement as to the order of the events narrated, and of the Epistles. Some scholars make the year of our Lord to synchronise with the year of our Lord's birth; others, with greater reason, consider the birth of our Lord to have taken place four or five years before the common era from which we reckon. Hence, *the year of the crucifixion, as given by historians, varies from A.D. 29—33; the conversion of Paul, from A.D. 31—40; Paul's first journey to Jerusalem, from A.D. 33—43; second journey to Jerusalem, from A.D. 41—46; first missionary journey, from A.D. 42—51; the third journey to Jerusalem, from A.D. 46—55; second missionary journey, from A.D. 46—55; the fourth journey to Jerusalem, and third missionary journey, from A.D. 50—56; the fifth journey to Jerusalem and Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, from A.D. 58—60; Paul's imprisonment at Rome, from A.D. 56—58, or from A.D. 63—65.*

Order of
the
Epistles.

3. The order in which the Epistles were written, as given in Lange,¹ Farrar, and Godet, is generally accepted. (1) *During the second missionary journey* (Acts xv. 36), the first and second Epistles to the Thessalonians from Corinth. (2) *During the third missionary journey* (Acts xviii. 18—23, xix), the Epistle to the Galatians was sent from Ephesus; the first of Corinthians from Ephesus; the second from Macedonia or Ephesus, and that to the Romans from Corinth. (3) *During Paul's first imprisonment at Rome* (Acts xxviii.), the Epistles to the Colossians, Philemon, the Ephesians, and Philippians. (4) *After the release, and*

¹ "Romans," p. 14, imperial 8vo.

during the second imprisonment, the Epistle to Titus and the first and second of Timothy. Those who think that there was no release from the first imprisonment, must place these Epistles at an earlier date.

4. The objections to this order must be noticed. (1) Conybeare and Howson, with Bishop Lightfoot,¹ place the Epistle to the Galatians between the second Corinthians and the Romans ; but Hug, De Wette, Olshausen, Usteri, Winer, Neander, Greswell, Meyer, Wieseler, are for the earlier date. (2) *Marcion* (the heretic) placed the Galatians, the Epistles to the Corinthians, and Romans, first of all, before the Epistles to the Thessalonians. (3) *Michaelis* placed Galatians as the *first* of the Epistles. (4) *Schrader* places the first and second Corinthians and Romans before the Thessalonians, being of opinion that the Apostle went to Jerusalem after his two years' stay at Ephesus (Acts xix.), and that this journey, in which he supposes Paul to have visited Thessalonica, took place in the interval between the events recorded in the twentieth and twenty-first verses of that chapter. (5) *Schott* is warmly opposed to this theory, and places the Epistle to the Galatians *last* of all the Epistles, on the assumption that the journey from Ephesus to Jerusalem, recorded Acts xxiii. 19—21, is that mentioned in Galatians ii. 2 ; and further, that the passage, Galatians vi. 17, has a reference to the Apostle's approaching martyrdom. These opinions are not received by the critics. (6) *Schultz*, *Schneckenberger*, *Schott*, *Reuss*, *Thiersch*, *Meyer*, and *Schenkel* think that the Epistle to the Ephesians, Colossians, and to Philemon, were written during the captivity of Paul at Cæsarea (Acts xxiii. 33 to end of chap. xxvi.).

5. The testimony of antiquity is all but unanimous in

¹ Bishop Lightfoot on "Galatians," pp. 41—5.

ascribing thirteen Epistles to St. Paul. In modern times the authenticity of some of them has been disputed. *Baur* regards only four of them as indisputably genuine, *i.e.* the first and second Epistles to the Corinthians, and those to the Romans and Galatians.

Four undisputed Epistles.

6. THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS was received not only by the orthodox Church, but by *Marcion*, the Gnostic and Basilidean sects, the Ophites, &c., and only rejected by the Judaising sects. There are in the writings of the first and second centuries allusions and references in *Clement of Rome*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, *Justin Martyr*, and the *Epistle to Diognetus*, *Melito*, *Irenæus*, the *Canon of Muratori*, the *Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons*, *Theophilus of Antioch*, *Clement of Alexandria*, and *Tertullian*; the fact of its being found in the old *Itala* and *Syrian* versions is also an additional evidence of its general reception by the Church, if any such were necessary. *Evanson*, in 1792, in his "Dissonance," &c., expressed what *Meyer* calls his "worthless scruples," and *Bruno Baur* his "frivolities;" but these found no supporters.¹ It was undoubtedly written in Greek, but *Bertholdt* and *Bolten* fancy that its original language was Syriac. *Inchofer*, *Hardouin*, *Cornelius Lapide*, and *Bellarmino* advocated the notion of a Latin original, but all these theories are now rejected by all critics. There is a *Commentary* on this Epistle by *Bishop Colenso*, on Broad and almost Universalist principles, which was ably criticised by the *Rev. Dr. Osborn*, Theological Tutor at the Wesleyan College, Richmond, in the "*London Quarterly*."²

Epistle to the Romans.

7. The unity and integrity of the Epistle has been questioned by many. (1) *Marcion* rejected the last two chapters, xv. and xvi., on dogmatic grounds. (2) *Hen-*

Unity of the Epistle.

¹ *Meyer's "Romans,"* Vol. I. p. 37. No. XXXV., April, 1862.

mann, xii. to xv. to be of themselves a later Epistle ; and that xvi. is a conclusion to chap. xi. (3) *J. F. Semler* supposes xv. to be a separate writing, intended for any Christians with whom the bearer of the Epistle came in contact, and xvi. as a list of persons to be saluted by the bearer on his way from Corinth to Rome. (4) *Eichhorn* thinks that xvi., verses 1 and 2, was a letter of recommendation for Phœbe ; and (5) *Ammon* thinks it was given by the Apostle after his release from the first captivity ; so *Ewald*, *Laurent*, *Lucht*, *Ritschl*, with some variations, partly agree with *Schutz* and *Schott*. (6) *Schube*, that xvi. was written from Rome to the Ephesians. (7) *Schott*, that it was a fragment of a smaller Epistle by Paul from Corinth to some Asiatic Church. On these notions *Tholuck* remarks that "they remain the conclusive property of their originators." (8) *Weisse* suggests "a number of interpolations as interwoven throughout the Epistle," but *Meyer* observes that these "rest simply on a subjective criticism of style, which has discarded all weight of external evidence."¹ (9) *Baur* declares the chaps. xv. and xvi. not genuine, no doubt because they are opposed to his theory of the Ebionistic condition of the Romish Church. *Volkmar* and *Schwegler* followed, with some variations, their great leader. All these trivialities, purely conjectural, are as endless in a certain class of critics as they are worthless and purposeless ; and require no farther notice. (10) The doxology, chap. xvi. 25—27, is undoubtedly genuine, though variously placed in some MSS. and wanting in others. *E. C. Schmidt*, *Reiche*, and *Krehl* reject it, though *Schott* and *Fritzsche* regard it as "wholly Pauline." *Eichhorn*, *Griesbach*, and *Flatt* think that from the different positions in which the doxology is found in the MSS. it is

¹ *Meyer's "Romans," Vol. I. p. 37.*

probable that St. Paul's conclusion, after xiv. 28, was written on another smaller piece of parchment, which was afterwards shifted and arranged in different ways.

8. The Epistle was written from Corinth about A.D. 57—59, according to Meyer; according to Bishop Lightfoot, during St. Paul's third missionary journey, 58 A.D.¹

9. THE FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS were written, the first from Ephesus, about A.D. 58, the second soon after, from some part of Macedonia, perhaps Thessalonica. Their genuineness and authenticity have been universally admitted. They are referred to by Clement, Polycarp, Athanagoras, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, and there are allusions to passages in the first Corinthians in Barnabas, Herman, and Ignatius, and to the second Corinthians in Irenæus. The only opponent in modern times after Evanson is *Bruno Baur*, who "alone, in his wanton fashion," has sought to dispute it.² The unity and integrity of the first Epistle are not disputed.

Corinthians,
first and
second
Epistles.

10. The *second* Epistle has been dissected and separated by the ingenuity of certain critics. (1) *Semler* thinks that (a) chap. i.—viii., with Romans xvi., and then chap. xiii. 11—13, to the end of the second Epistle, constitute of themselves *one* Epistle; that (b) chap. x., as far as verse 10 of the last chapter, are a *second* Epistle; (c) that chapter ix. is a circular to the Christians of Achaia. *Semler* was refuted by *Gabler* and rejected by *Eichhorn* and *Bertholdt*. (2) *Webber* considers (a) chap. i. to ix., with xiii. 11—13, to make one Epistle; (b) the rest, a second Epistle. (3) *Von Greeve* regards (a) chap. i.—viii., with xiii. 11—13, as one epistle; (b) the remainder of the Epistle is another. (4) *C. H. Weisse* thinks it is composed of three circulars, the last of which is chap. i.—viii., xiii. 11—13,

¹ Smith's "Dict.," Vol. III. p. 1054. ² Meyer's "II. Corinthians," p. 9.

all put together by some one, perhaps Timothy. (5) *Paulus* regards the second half to be a separate epistle. (6) *Wieseler* thinks the first part, chap. i.—vii., to have been written under great depression ; the rest of the Epistle after Paul had been refreshed by the assent of Titus. (7) *Schraeder* thinks chap. vi. 14 to vii. 1 to be an interpolation, as the sentiments are unworthy of Paul's liberal opinions. Such men cannot see any difference between the world and the Church. (8) *Schleiermacher* thinks it difficult to reconcile the allusion to Titus viii. 23, 24, with xii. 18, forgetting that Titus had been at Corinth before. He sees a difference in the Apostle's style in ix. 4 with xii. 14, and xiii. 1, 2, forgetting that in the first the Apostle addresses the whole church, in the latter the offenders only. On these arbitrary dissections and displacements, *Lange* remarks that they are founded on the conceded fact that two or three subjects of a very different character are discussed, and that a spirit of an almost opposite nature pervades the different parts of the Epistles, partly explained by the remarks of *Wieseler*. These dismembering theories are opposed by the best critics, and will not bear a thorough investigation. The writers are blind to the masterly management of the subject by the Apostle, and thus their obtuseness has converted a peculiar excellence into a defect.

II. The style of the second Epistle has been censured by *Eichhorn* and *Zimmerling* as harsh and obscure. In the opinion of Davidson, "they have unduly, not to say unjustly, depreciated the style of this Epistle."¹ *Meyer* remarks, "the excitement and varied play of emotions with which Paul wrote this letter, probably also in haste, certainly make the expression not seldom obscure and the sentences less flexible, but only heighten our admiration

¹ Davidson's "Introduction to the New Test.," Vol. II. p. 273.

of the great delicacy, skill, and power with which this outpouring of Paul's spirit and heart (possessing as a defence of himself a high and peculiar interest) flows and gushes on, till finally, in the last part, wave on wave overwhelms the hostile resistance.¹ Some think that a visit to Corinth by the Apostle, not recorded in the Acts, may be inferred from 2^d Corinthians xiii. 14, xii. 1, 2, &c. If so, this visit may have taken place during the Apostle's stay at Ephesus.

12. THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS is of all Galatians Paul's Epistles the most characteristic. The utmost possible variety of opinion exists among critics as to its date and position. *Marcion*, the heretic, *Michaelis*, *Baumgarten*, *Schmidt*, *Mynster*, *Niemeyer*, *Koppe*, *Böttger*, and *Ulrich*, placed it first in date. (1) *Schraeder* and *Köhler* the last (A.D. 64—A.D. 69). (2) *Beza* and *Weingart* think it was written before the Council of Jerusalem (*Beza* thinks at Antioch). (3) *Macknight* thinks it was written after the Council, but before the second missionary journey. (4) *Michaelis* and *Townsend* think it was written during the second missionary journey, perhaps from Thessalonica. (5) *Drusius*, *L'Enfant*, *Beausobre*, *Lardner*, *Benson*, *Barrington*, *Tomline*, &c., fix upon Corinth, on Paul's first visit (Acts xx. 2, 3). (6) *Mill* fixes upon Troas as Paul was going to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 6). (7) *Theodoret*, *Flacius*, *Sixtus of Siene*, *Baronius*, *Bullinger*, *Lightfoot*, *Calov*, *Hammond*, date it from Rome according to the superscription. (8) *Capellus*, *Witsius*, *Wall*, *Rosenmüller*, *Bertholdt*, *Eichhorn*, *Hänlein*, *Ruckert*, *Hug*, *Feilmoser*, *Schott*, *De Wette*, *Olshausen*, *Usteri*, *Winer*, *Neander*, *Burton*, *Greswell*, *Auger*, *Guericke*, *Reuss*, *Lange*, *Schaff*, *Meyer*, *Wieseler*, *Alford*, *Ellicott*, *Turner*, and *S. Davidson* date it from Ephesus, his second

¹ Meyer's "II. Corinthians," p. 129.

visit (Acts xix. 1). (9) *Grotius*, *Fabricius*, *Pearson*, *Stein*, *De Wette*, *Bleek*, *Conybeare*, and *Howson*, with *Bishop Lightfoot*, date it from Corinth during Paul's second visit (Acts xx. 2, 3). (10) *Wordsworth* dates it at Paul's first visit to Corinth, A.D. 53.

13. The external testimonies are found in *Irenæus*, *J. Martyr*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, &c. It was also acknowledged by *Marcion* and the *Valentinians*, and other *Gnostic* sects. The *Tübingen* school not only admit its genuineness, but endeavour to make it their instrument from which to attack most of the other Epistles. Only one man, *Bruno Bauer*, supposes the Epistle to be a compilation from the first and second Corinthians, for which absurdity he has been severely reproved by *Meyer*. *Bishop Lightfoot's* distinct treatises on the *Colossians*, *Galatians*, and *Ephesians* are exhaustive, and should be studied by all who desire to understand the life and times of the great Apostle, and the early history of the Church.

Epistle
to the
Ephesians.

14. THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS. This was written while Paul was a PRISONER (chap. iii.) ; his imprisonment was at *Cæsarea* and at *Rome* ; from one of these places he wrote this, and the Epistle to the *Colossians* and *Philemon* about the same time. That this Epistle was written at *Cæsarea* is the view of *Schutz*, *Schraeder*, *Schneckenberger*, *Reuss*, *Schott*, *Schenkel*, *Böttigen*, *Wiggers*, *Thiersch*, and *Meyer*. On the other hand, the opinion that it was written from *Rome* has been the general belief, and is the most probable. *Alford*, *Davidson*, and *Lange* agree with the generally received opinion. (1) Some think this Epistle is the same as that to the *Laodiceans* mentioned by Paul, *Colossians* iv. 16. This is the opinion of *Mill*, *Du Pin*, *Wall*, *Vitringa*, *Venema*, *Wetstein*, *Whiston*, *Pierce*, *Benson*, *Paley*,

Greswell, Bishop Lightfoot, and Professor Milligan. (2) Others think it was a circular letter to the Church of Asia Minor, including Ephesus and Laodicea, or restricted to those alone, or excluding that at Ephesus: of this opinion in the main, though differing in minute details, are *Bengel, Moldenhauer, Michaelis, Koppe, Ziegler, Hänlein, Justi, Schmidt, Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, Hensen, Feilmoser, Neander, Schneckenberger, Rückert, Matthici, Credner, Guericke, Böttger, Olshausen, and Burton*, who think the received reading "*in Ephesus*" as suspicious. (3) Some admit the authenticity of the reading "*in Ephesus*," and yet argue for the circular character of the Epistle, as *Beza, Hammond, Ellies, Whitty, Flatt, Boehmer, Schott, Harless, Schraeder, Wiggers, and Lünemann.*

15. There is a great similarity between this and the Epistle to the Colossians, as is obvious to the reader. The particulars may be seen in Davidson.¹ The two Epistles are complementary to each other, and we can see how it was that St. Paul directed that the two should be read together (Coloss. iv. 61). The external testimonies are found in Polycarp, Irenæus, Tertullian, the Canon Muratori, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, &c., also the heretics Marcion and Valentinus.

16. The character of the Epistle is objected to by (1) *De Wette*, who considers it to be "a spiritless expansion of the Epistle to the Colossians, compiled in the Apostolic age, by some pupil of the Apostle's, writing in his name. His views were refuted by *Rückert, Hensen, Meyer, Harless, and Neander.* (2) *Baur* (with *Schwegler* and *Zeller*), on the ground of passages which he thinks savour of Gnosticism and Montanism, places the Epistle at a later period. His views have been combated by

¹ Davidson's "Introduction to the New Testament," Vol. II. p. 344.

Lechler. (3) *Usteri* follows a conjecture of *Schleiermacher*, that this Epistle was written by an attendant of Paul under his suggestion. (4) *Haussath* considers this a letter to the Laodiceans by another hand. (5) *Ewald* thinks it is by a friend and pupil of the Apostle.

17. *Dr. S. Davidson* (1847) refers to *De Wette's* arguments as illustrating his and some other critics' "German subjectivity." "It is sometimes instructive to look at the sort of evidence by means of which men can persuade themselves that a writing is supposititious. What minute learning and laborious diligence do they squander away in trying to show something that cannot be proved. In the present instance, it is obvious to the practical common sense of any calm inquirer, that *testimony and the degree of weight* attaching to it are very imperfectly apprehended by the learned critic."¹

Epistle
to the
Philip-
pians.

18. THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS is almost unanimously admitted to have been written from Rome towards the conclusion of Paul's imprisonment, A.D. 63. In modern times there have been conjectures hazarded as to Corinth or Cæsarea, but they have found no acceptance. The external testimony is found in Polycarp, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, the Canon of Muratori, &c. The objections in modern times are (1) from *Schraeder*, who doubts the authenticity of chaps. iii. 1—iv. 9. (2) *Baur*, with *Schwegler*, objects to the whole Epistle, by an "*insanity of hypotheses*," as containing Gnostic ideas, which belong to a later age. He has been refuted by *Lünemann*, *Bruckner*, *Risch*, *Ernesti*, and *Hilgenfeld*. (3) *Heinrichs* considers the Epistle to be made up from two letters—one to the Church, chapters i. and ii. as far as iii. 1, and iv. 21—23; the other from iii. 1 to the end of what remains. His

¹ Davidson's "Introduction to the New Testament," Vol. II. p. 356.

scheme has been replied to by *Bertholdt*, *Flatt*, *Schott*, *Kraum*, and *Rhemwold*. (4) *Hitzig* and *Hinsch* oppose the genuineness of the Epistle, the latter on grounds similar to *Baur*, the former (as *Meyer* remarks) on no ground whatever.¹

19. THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS was written at the same place and about the same time as that to the Ephesians (at Rome or Cæsarea, as before noticed). Which of the two Epistles was first written has been warmly contested. (1) On behalf of the Epistle to the Ephesians, we have the opinions of *Theodoret*, *Flacius*, *Baronius*, *Pctavius*, *Ussher*, *Hcidegger*, *Lightfoot*, *Pearson*, *Hammond*, *Mill*, *Hottinger*, *Michaelis*, *Schmidt*, *Hug*, *Eichhorn*, *Feilmoser*, *Schott*, *Kochler*, *Schrader*, *Lardner*, *Credner*, *Guericke*, *Burton*, and *Greswell*. (2) On behalf of the Epistle to the Colossians we have *Capellus*, *J. J. Lange*, *De Wette*, *Neander*, *Harless*, *Olshausen*, *Steiger*, *Wiggers*, *Meyer*, *Wieseler*, *Davidson*, and others. These two Epistles are no doubt the most profound of all the Pauline Epistles, and both are characterised by a marked peculiarity of style.

Epistle
to the Co-
lossians.

20. The *external* evidence is to be found in Justin Martyr, Irenæus, the Canon of Muratori, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen, besides that of the heretic Marcion. The integrity of the Epistle has been opposed. (1) *Baur* (with whom substantially agree *Schwegler*, *Planck*, *Köstlin*, *Hilgenfeld*, *Hochstra*) considers this Epistle, with that to the Ephesians, which he thinks secondary and counterpart to it, to be non-Pauline, and of the date of the Gnostic, &c., heresies. (2) *Mayerhoff* assumes the genuineness of the Epistle to the Ephesians to the prejudice of this Epistle, which he thinks belongs to the second century.

¹ Meyer's "Philippians," p. 7.

(3) *De Wette* assumes that this Epistle is the first to the prejudice of the Epistle to the Ephesians. (4) *Weisse*, *Hitzig*, *Holtzmann*, and *Hænig* profess to have found out numerous interpolations. (5) *Ewald* thinks the Epistle was planned by Paul, but written by Timothy. *Baur's* views, and most of his school's, are opposed by *De Wette*, *Meyer*, *Olshausen*, and *Huther*.

First and
second
Epistles
to the
Thessa-
lonians.

21. THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS was undoubtedly written from Corinth about A.D. 52 or 53. It was probably the earliest of all the Apostolical Epistles of Paul, as *Lardner* thinks. A few critics place it later, as *Wurm*, *Schrader*, *Kohler*, *Benson*, *Michaelis*, *Whiston*, and *Böttger*. The *Second Epistle to the Thessalonians* was also written from Corinth soon after the first. *Grotius* thinks the *second* Epistle was the first written, but this is not generally admitted, though supported by *Ewald*, who thinks it was written from Berea. The external testimonies to these Epistles are found in *Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, and *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Clement of Alexandria*, and *Tertullian*.

22. The opponents to the genuineness, &c., of these Epistles are (1) *Schmidt*, who, from 2 Thess. iii. 17, contends that the first Epistle is deficient in this mark of its being a genuine production of Paul; and that 2 Thess. chap. ii. 1—12 is a Montanist interpolation. With this *De Wette* at first coincided, but afterwards refuted his own doubts. (2) *Hilgenfeld* thinks the first Epistle *alone* to be genuine. (3) *Kern* thinks the second Epistle to be not genuine, because of the prophecy respecting Antichrist. (4) *Baur's* system naturally leads him to reject both Epistles, and they are so rejected by his followers. A large number of the German critics have opposed *Baur's* views, as *Koch*, *Lünemann*, *Grimm*,

Lange, Reuss, Guericke, Hofmann, Bleck, Reiche, &c., also by *Davidson, Alford, &c.*, in England.

23. Two matters referred to in these Epistles have occasioned much controversy. (1) The notion of the immediate coming of our Lord, which the Apostle corrects in the second Epistle. (2) "The man of sin"—Antichrist: fairly interpreted, the Epistle speaks of the second coming of our Lord, without reference to the precise period, but rather in connection with the moral lesson and warning. The explanation of the prophecy of "the man of sin" belongs rather to the commentator than to the critic; most expositions so far appear unsatisfactory.

24. THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON was written from Rome, the same year as those to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians, and was probably the first of these in point of order (A.D. 62). Philemon was a person of distinction, a member of the Church at Colosse. The Epistle has for its object to reconcile him to his repentant slave, who desired to return to him. It may be compared with that of Pliny to Sabinian (Epistles, Book ix. 21) greatly to the advantage of St. Paul. *Wieseler* and *Thiersch* imagine this Epistle to be identical with the one to the Laodiceans (Coloss. iv. 16): this is a mere assumption, without any proof. The Epistle is referred to by Tertullian, Marcion, the Canon of Muratori, Origen, &c. *Baur* and the Tübingen school alone deny its authenticity; with them it is a mere romantic story, originating in a desire to veil a truly Christian idea in an appropriate dress (*Lange*).

Epistle to
Philemon.

25. THE PASTORAL EPISTLES are, in the annals of criticism, intimately connected with the controversy as to whether Paul's death followed his first imprisonment at Rome; or whether he was released about 63 A.D., and after sundry labours, again returned to Rome, was again

The
Pastoral
Epistles.

imprisoned, and then put to death in the thirteenth or fourteenth year of Nero (Eusebius and Strauss), A.D. 67 or 68. On this matter the best of critics differ. The difficulty, as put by *Alford*, is "to assign during the life of the Apostle a time for the writing which will suit the phenomena of these Epistles;" he "cannot consent to place them in any portion of St. Paul's Apostolic labours recorded in the Acts; all the data which they themselves furnish us are against such a supposition."

Question
of Paul's
first and
second
imprison-
ment.

It is therefore obviously necessary to accept the general opinion of the early Church, handed down to us in the Canon of Muratori and the Epistle of Clement, and confirmed by the statements of Eusebius and Jerome, who had access to the most early records extant. This view is confirmed by the evident anticipations of Paul himself in his *first* imprisonment, Philippians i. 25—6, ii. 24; Philemon, verse 22; which were no doubt realised after his release. But the language of resignation in 2 Timothy iv. 6—8, 16—18, implies the drawing near of the end of all his earthly labours, when in the thirteenth or fourteenth year of Nero—67 or 68 A.D.—he was put to death at Rome. Between A.D. 63 and 67 or 68, there is sufficient time for the visits to Asia Minor, Greece, and even Spain, which are alluded to in the Pastoral Epistles. This literature and a period of labour between the first and second imprisonments are advocated by the great majority of Christian critics. *Theophylact*, *Æcumenius*, *Nicephorus Callistsus*, *Ussher*, *Pearson*, *Heidegger*, *Mill*, *Le Clerc*, *Tillemont*, *Cave*, *Fabricius*, *Basnage*, *Whitby*, *Rosenmüller*, *Mynster*, *Breutano*, *Wegscheider*, *Sandhagen*, *Hofmann*, *Schnappinger*, *Paley*, *Macknight*, *Feilmoser*, *Guericke*, *Böhl*, *Köhler*, *Flatt*, *Mack*, *Wurm*, *Neander*, *Baumgarten*, *Huther*, *Leo*, *Lange*, *Ruffert*, *Giesler*, and *Oosterzee*; so also *Alford*, *Ellicott*, *Conybeare*, *Howson*,

and Wordsworth ; on the other hand, *Petavius*, *Lardner*, *Winer*, *Baur*, *Niedner*, *Wieseler*, *Schrader*, *Hemsen*, *De Wette*, *Otto*, *Reuss*, *De Pressensé*, *Schaff*, and *S. Davidson* : for the full and exhaustive discussion see *Davidson*¹ and *Alford*.² In the great variety of dates assigned to each of these Epistles, only two are of importance, whether written in the period included in the Acts of the Apostles, or in or before the last imprisonment, and these are doubtful ; while all the minor circumstances are mere suppositions to fill up the absence of recorded facts.

26. The following dates have been assigned by critics. Critical opinions.
 (1) *For the First Epistle to Timothy* : by *Paulus*, from Paul while imprisoned at Cæsarea, A.D. 59 ; by *Davidson*, after Paul's three years at Ephesus, A.D. 54, while *Dr. Plumptre* (in Smith's "Dictionary") and *Alford* (in his "Commentary") place it between the release from the first and the beginning of the second imprisonment at Rome, say 64 or 65 A.D. *W. L. Alexander* (in Kitto's "Encyclopædia") is not quite decided, but inclines to this latter date. (2) *For the Second Epistle to Timothy*, *Davidson* fixes the date 62—63 A.D., during the first imprisonment at Rome, but *Dr. Plumptre* and *Alford* consider it to be from Rome in the last year of the Apostle's life, A.D. 67 or 68. (3) *For the Epistle to Titus* : *Michaelis*, *Hales*, and *Townsend* give the period of Paul's first sojourn at Corinth (Acts xviii. 18), A.D. 52 ; *Hemsen* and *Wieseler* think it was sent from Ephesus, A.D. 53 ; *Baronius*, *Calovius*, *Lightfoot*, *Hammond*, *Lardner*, *Heinrichs*, *Schmidt*, and others, differ much as to the place and circumstances, but agree in the date about 56 A.D. *Dr. Davidson* fixes upon the period of the sojourn at Ephesus,

¹ Davidson's "Introduction to the New Testament," Vol. III. pp. 100—153. ² Alford's "New Testament," Vol. III. pp. 69—108.

A.D. 57, while *Dr. Howson, Benson, Pearson, Paley, and Alford* place it in the latter years of Paul's life, just before his last imprisonment.

27. The external evidence from the Fathers, &c., is from Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Tertullian. Tatian rejected Timothy. Marcion, and some other heretics, seem to have rejected these Epistles on dogmatic grounds. In modern times we may notice the following objections. (1) *Evanson* was opposed to the Epistle to Titus. (2) *Schmidt* doubted the first Epistle to Timothy. (3) *Schleiermacher* denied that Paul wrote the first Epistle to Timothy (in which he was opposed by *Eichhorn, De Wette, Planck, Wegscheider, and Beckhans*). (4) *Eichhorn* soon after denied the authenticity of the second Epistle to Timothy and that to Titus. (5) He was followed by *De Wette, Schrader, and* virtually by *Schott*. These views were combated by *Bertholdt, Hug, Süskind, Curtius, Vanderhess, Guericke, Wolf, Böhl, Feilmoser, Kling, Heydenreich, and Mack*. (6) *Loeffler, Neander, and Usteri* followed, with doubts as to the first Epistle of Timothy. (7) *Credner, Neudecker, and Reuterdahl* denied the authenticity of all three Epistles. The objections of *Eichhorn, De Wette, and Baur* are— (1) The difficulty of finding a place and time for these Epistles in the recorded life of St. Paul in the Acts of the Apostles. To this it is replied that the difficulty is not impossible, as several speculations of the critical school prove; and that the acceptance of the ecclesiastical tradition of a release of the Apostle, and of a second imprisonment, removes these difficulties altogether. (2) That these Epistles present a more developed state of Church organisation than belongs to the lifetime of Paul; which is a mere assumption, without proof, and opposed to the reference to order and govern-

ment found in the Acts and the Epistles. (3) That there are references to heresies peculiar to the Gnostics Valentinian and Marcianus, of the second century ; as if the germs, the first beginnings of most of the heresies which became more known in the second and third centuries were not discernible in the Apostolical age. These objections cannot for a moment be placed in competition with the universal testimony of the ancient Church. A full and most weighty consideration of the objections of Baur and others may be found in the "General Introduction to the Pastoral Epistles" by Wiesinger.

28. THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS is commonly classed with those of Paul, but its canonicity as a portion of the Scriptures, and its authorship especially, have been matters of controversy, not yet, as regards the authorship, fully settled. (1) The question of its right to a place in the Canon is the most important. In the Eastern Church it was from the first generally received as an Epistle of Paul, as may be seen from Pantæus, Justin Martyr, the Peshito (Syriac) version, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius. Origen thought that the language was un-Pauline, but the ideas were those of Paul, and that the actual writer was some disciple of Paul. In the Western Church it was received by the only sub-Apostolic writer extant, Clement of Rome, who quotes it as "Scripture." After this it was little noticed in the West until the fourth century. The possible cause of this neglect in the early Western Churches may be, that after the first century the controversy with the Jewish party in the Church had altogether ceased among them, though lingering for some time in the East. (2) The language in which the Epistle was first written is disputed. Certain of the Fathers

Epistle
to the
Hebrews.

thought it was written in Hebrew, as Clement of Alexandria, Euthalius, Theodoret, Theophylact, and Jerome ; but the major part of the authorities, ancient and modern, are in favour of the Greek. It is useless to give their names.

The
author-
ship.

29. The question of the authorship has called forth a series of wild conjectures and hypotheses, which form a large addition to the useless literature of Biblical criticism, being mere guesses of individuals, without the shadow of evidence either of fact or of authority. We give the names of the theorists and then their views. *Olshausen*.—A hortatory discourse of the Presbyters of Asia Minor, to which Paul had given his name, and the sanction of his Apostleship. *Eichhorn*, *Baumgarten*, *Crusius*, *Schott*, and *Seyffrath*.—It is one of a class of interpolated writings, and the author, an Alexandrian, has remodelled the Epistle to the Ephesians and Colossians for the Jewish Christians. *Schwegler* and *Zeller*.—A treatise of the pseudo-Johannine school of the second century. *Köstlin* and *Ritschl*.—It presents an advanced stage of the primitive Apostolical Judaism. *Weiss* and *Richm*.—An independent missionary labourer connected with Paul. *Ewald* (partly anticipated by *Wetstein*).—By some Jewish teacher residing at Jerusalem, to a church in some important Italian town, which had sent a deputation to Palestine. *Neander*.—Some Apostolic man of the Pauline school, whose training and method of stating doctrinal truths differed from St. Paul's. Sundry contemporaries of Paul are put forth as the possible authors of this Epistle, viz.: BARNABAS, by Tertullian, J. E. C. Schmidt, Wieseler, Tweesten, and Ullman. APOLLOS, by Luther, Alford, Le Clerc, Semler, Dindorf, Ziegler, De Wette, Tholuck, Olshausen, Bleek, and Bunsen. Osiander, Heumann, L.

Müller, Dindorf, Credner, Reuss, Feilmoser, Lünemann, and Lutterbeck think St. Paul wrote the last nine verses, and that the rest was by Apollos and others, as Luke, &c. *Rev. Dr. Moulton*, in the "New Testament Commentary,"¹ ascribes the Epistle to Apollos. *SILAS*, by Boehm, Mynster, and Riehm. *LUKE*, by Grotius, Hug, Delitzsch, Köhler, Weitzsacher.

30. The tendency of modern criticism is to fall back upon (1) either Paul himself solely, or (2) upon Paul as the furnisher of the matter of the Epistle, together with the assistance of some one of his friends as the actual writer. For the first opinion, *Stuart, Sampson, Turner, Barnes, Lindsay, Conybeare and Howson, Hug, Klenker, Riga, Stendel, Gelpke, Paulus, Klee, Stein, Gaussen, Wordsworth*, and yet more recently, *Forster*. For the second, *Guericke, Stier, and Eberard*. To decide between the contending opinions is scarcely possible. Within the last three centuries every word and phrase of the Epistles has been examined, with an acuteness and strictness far beyond the demands of rational criticism, and in some cases throwing rather darkness than light upon the discussion. *Alford* gives sixty-two pages 8vo, *Davidson* sixty-seven, and *Eberard* fifty, on the question of authorship. *D. W. L. Alexander* gives the result of his inquiries in *Kitto*,² which is pertinent to the point in hand. (1) "There is no substantial evidence, external or internal, in favour of any claimant to the authorship of this Epistle except Paul." (2) There is nothing incompatible with the supposition that Paul was the author of it. (3) The preponderance of the internal and of the direct external evidence goes to show it was written by Paul. *Dean Alford* and *Dr. Moulton* have decided in favour of the

¹ Cassell.

² *Kitto's "Biblical Encyclopædia,"* Vol. III. p. 253.

authorship of Apollos. *Dr. S. Davidson* (1851) and *Eberard* think that Paul furnished the matter, and that Luke worked out the Epistle for Paul. The doctrine is Pauline, the language is thought to be that of a subordinate assistant.

31. *Professor W. Robertson Smith*¹ is of opinion that "scarcely any sound scholar will be found to accept Paul as the direct author of the Epistle, though such a modified view, as was suggested by Origen, still claims adherents among the lovers of compromise with tradition. . . . The style of thought is quite unique; the theological ideas are cast in a different mould, and the leading conception of the high priesthood of Christ, which is no mere occasional thought, but a central point in the author's conception of Christianity, finds its nearest analogy, not in the Pauline Epistles, but in John xvii. 19. . . . The book has manifest Pauline affinities, and can hardly have originated beyond the Pauline circle to which it is referred, not only by the author's friendship with Timothy (xiii. 23), but by many unquestionable echoes of the Pauline theology, and even by distinct allusion to passages in Paul's Epistles" (Heb. x. 30, refer to Rom. xii. 19). The Professor concludes by making, like his predecessors, a "compromise with tradition;" he supposes that either Barnabas or Apollos was the writer, but that "Barnabas will claim the preference if we are entitled to give any weight to tradition." We rather think that the balance of probability is quite as much in favour of Apollos, as advocated by *Dr. Moulton*, Principal of the Wesleyan College, Cambridge, in his "Notes on Hebrews," in "The New Testament Commentary for English Readers."

¹ *Dr. Robertson Smith*, "Ency. Brit.," Ninth Edition, Vol. XI. Article "Hebrews."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

1. These seven Epistles—one of James, two of Peter, three of John, and one of Jude—are usually known as the CATHOLIC EPISTLES: this term was first used by *Origen* in reference to 1 Peter, 1 John and Jude. In the time of Eusebius, the other four Epistles were already classed with the preceding. Why they were specially called Catholic is disputed. If by this designation their Canonical character is implied, the term is not specially distinctive from the other books comprising the Canon. Probably these Epistles were so called from their *ENCYCLIC* character, as not written (with the exception of the second and third Epistles of John) to one person or to one particular church, but to all Christians. In the old MSS. these Epistles are placed after the Acts of the Apostles and before the Epistles of Paul.

Seven
Epistles.

2. THE EPISTLE OF JAMES. To ascertain which of the Jameses mentioned in the New Testament is the author of this Epistle, it will be necessary to refer to the tedious and unsatisfactory discussions on the brethren of our Lord. The fact that men of profound learning and deep research have differed so decidedly, is a proof that the information incidentally given in the New Testament is not sufficient to ensure certainty in any of the conclusions of the critics. In the Apostolic age, the various Jameses and Marys were all well known, and easily

Epistle of
James.

distinguished by the readers of the Gospels, and the Acts, and Epistles. Exclusive of James the son of Zebedee, who was put to death by Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 2), and who dying so early could not be the author of the Epistle, there are *six* others of the name mentioned in the New Testament. The *Rev. F. Meyrick*¹ seems to have thoroughly investigated the question of the Jameses: his list is as follows:—

(1) James, *the Apostle*, the *son of Alphæus* (or its synonym Cleopas): Matthew x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13.

(2) James, *the brother of the Lord*: Matthew xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3; Galatians i. 19.

(3) James, *the son of Mary*: Matthew xxvii. 56; Luke xxiv. 10. Also called *the little*, Mark xv. 40.

(4) James, *the brother of Jude*: Jude, verse 1.

(5) James, *the brother (?) of Jude*: Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13.

(6) James: Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; 1 Corinthians xv. 7; Galatians ii. 9, 12.

There can be no doubt as to the names in numbers two to six. They refer to *one* person, but whether number one—James, the son of Alphæus—can be identified with the brother of our Lord, is, according to Neander, the most difficult of problems. This identity is supported by *Papias*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, and the Western Church generally; also by *Eusebius*, *Baronius*, *Lardner*, *Pearson*, *Gabler*, *Hug*, *Meier*, *Guericke*, *Gieseler*, *Mombert*, and *Thiele*; but *Davidson*, *Herder*, *De Wette*, *Neander*, *Kern*, *Schaff*, *Winer*, *Stier*, *Grotius*, *Hammond*, *Simon*, *Fritzsche*, *Mayerhoff*, *Credner*, *Bloom*, *Wieseler*, *Olshausen*, *Lange*, *Rothe*, and *Alford* deny this identity.

¹ Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," Vol. I. pp. 920—926.

The brethren of
our Lord.

3. Respecting "*the brethren of our Lord*" there are four hypotheses. (1) That *they were the natural children of Joseph and Mary*, supported by Jovinian, Bonosus, Helvidius, Winer, Wieseler, Stier, Schaff, Neander, Meyer, Mombert, Davidson, Alford and Farrar. (2) That *they were the sons of Joseph by a former wife*, supported by Hilary, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nysa, and by the Greek Fathers generally, Cave, Basnage, and recently by Bishop Lightfoot. (3) That *they were the children of Joseph by a Levirate marriage with the widow of his brother Cleopas*, supported by Epiphanius and Theophylact. (4) That *they were our Lord's first cousins*, the sons of Alphæus or Cleopas, and of Mary the sister of the Virgin Mary; this opinion is supported by Papias, Jerome, Augustine, and the Latin Church generally; also by Dr. Plumptre in his "Notes on Matthew" (in the "New Testament Commentary"),¹ and by Canon Cook (in the notes appended to Matthew, "Speaker's Commentary").²

4. If then, James, "the Apostle," be a different person from James, "the brother of the Lord" (who is identified with the persons number two to six), the question is, Which of these is the author of this Epistle? *James, the Apostle* (the just), is regarded as the author by Davidson, Stanley, and Meyerick. *James, the Lord's brother* (not the Apostle), is thought to be the author by Herder, De Wette, Credner, Neander, Kern, Winer, Rothe, Stier, Schaff, and Alford. Luther singularly attributed the Epistle to the son of Zebedee. The traditions preserved by Eusebius and Origen from Hegesippus and Josephus are not generally accepted as trustworthy.

5. The Epistle is referred to by *Clement of Rome, Shepherd of Hermas, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of*

¹ Three Vols. 4to, Cassell's Ed.

² "New Test.," Vol. I. p. 73.

Alexandria, Origen, Dionysius and Didymus of Alexandria, Cyril and Jerome; was accepted by *Eusebius*, and by the Church of his day, but not universally. It is found in the *Peshito* early Syriac version. The date assigned to it by *Neander, Schneckenberger, Thiele, Thiener, Huther, Davidson, and Alford* is 45 A.D., a short time before the so-called Council of Jerusalem; but *Michaelis, Pearson, Mill, Guericke, Bleek, Burton, Macknight*, and the critics generally, place it about 60 A.D., just before the martyrdom of the writer. *Lange* thinks A.D. 62—63, *Hug* and *De Wette* think it was not circulated until after the appearance of the Epistle to the Hebrews. At the time of the Reformation the genuineness of the Epistle was doubted by *Erasmus, Cajetan, Cyril Lucas, Luther*, the *Magdeburg Centuriators, Hunnius, Althamer*, and others. *Luther* went so far as to call it “an Epistle of straw,” chiefly, however, on the supposition that the teaching of the Epistle was contrary to that of Paul. Since then the principal objectors have been *Faber, Bolten, and Bertholdt*, who think that James wrote in Aramean, and that our Greek copy is a translation by another hand; also by *De Wette, Schleiermacher, Kern, Baur, Schwegler, and Ströbel*.

6. It does not appear clearly to what special portion of the Church this Epistle was addressed. It obviously refers to the whole Jewish nation, whether believers or not, but is specially intended to warn the Jewish believers against any participation in the approaching revolutionary movement of the Jewish zealots against Rome; and against the temptation to fall away through the persecution to which they would be exposed from the fanatical patriotism of their unbelieving countrymen.

First
Epistle of
Peter.

7. THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER. “In all Christian antiquity,” says *Olshausen*, “no one doubted the genuine-

ness of this Epistle." The external evidence is from Papias, Polycarp, Irenæus, the Syriac Peshito version, Tertullianus, Valentine, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius. The Paulician fanatics in the seventh century did not receive it. In modern times the Tübingen school of Baur and others alone reject it on the ground of its opposition to their system. It was undoubtedly written for the believing Jews in Asia Minor, as stated in 1 Peter i. 1, either in 64 to 67 A.D. or towards the end of the Apostle's life.

8. The place from whence the Epistle is dated is a subject of controversy. We give the opinions in order. (1) The Babylon mentioned by the Apostle is supposed to be the BABYLON in *Chaldæa*, rebuilt near the old site; by Erasmus, Drusius, Basnage, Beza, Cave, Beausobre, Wetstein, Lightfoot, Dr. Benson, Wordsworth, A. Clarke, Tregelles. Michaelis thinks the place was *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and not Babylon itself. (2) BABYLON in *Egypt*: Pearson, Mill, Le Clerc. (3) BABYLON, the mythical designation of Rome: Grotius, D. Whitby, Lardner, Macknight, Tomline, and Horne. (4) Some deny that Peter was ever at Rome, as Salmasius, Scaliger, T. Spanheim; but this has been disputed by Cave, Pearson, Le Clerc, Basnage, and Lardner, and by all the Romish critics and ecclesiastical historians.

9. There is a similar variety of opinion as to the parties to whom it was addressed, though one would think the language of chapter i. verse 1 is decisive enough, and as precise as was necessary for our information. (1) In the opinion of Bede, Beza, Œcumenius, Grotius, Cave, Mill, Tillemout, Hales, Rosenmüller, Hug, and others, it was addressed to Jewish Christians. (2) Lord Barrington and Dr. Benson think it was to the proselytes of the gate. (3) Michaelis thinks it was

written to native heathens, who had been at first proselytes to Judaism and then to Christianity. (4) *Estius*, *Whitby*, *Lardner*, *Macknight*, and *Tomline* think it was written to Christians in general.

Second
Epistle of
Peter.

10. THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER. The genuineness of this Epistle has been denied, mainly on the ground of its not having been received generally until late in the fourth century, by the Council of Hippo, 393 A.D. The amount of evidence to its existence found in the earlier writers is less than the evidence to the other books. *Eusebius* placed it among the books not generally received, so also *Origen*, yet he and *Clement* of Alexandria treat it as genuine, the one calling it "Scripture," and the other writing a commentary upon it. It is not in the Peshito (Syriac) version. The supposed references to it in *Clement* of Rome, *Barnabas*, *Poly-carp*, and *Ignatius*, are perhaps too vague to be depended upon, but there is a notice of it in a fragment of *Mileto* preserved in the Syriac. That it was received in the second century, though not generally, is probable from allusions to it in *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Theophilus* of Antioch, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. The doubts of the early Church prove the great care exercised in the admission of writings, claiming Apostolical origin, into the Canon. No book could be less exceptional in its matter or more worthy of the Apostle, and it claims expressly to be the work of Peter; yet because it had not been so generally known from the first, and because of differences in style, &c., not difficult to account for, its reception was long delayed. No reason can be assigned to account for a forgery by a later writer. It is all but impossible to believe that the writer of such passages as those in chapter i. 3—8, 16—21, can be an impostor, who is endeavouring to impose a *pseudo*-Epistle of Peter upon

the Churches. In all the writings of the early Fathers, there are no passages equal to these and other portions of the Epistle. (1) Hence, the authenticity of the Epistle is advocated by *Michaelis, Pott, Augusti, Storr, Flatt, Hug, Schmidt, Lardner, Guericke, Feilmoser, Windischmann, and Thiersch*; *Olshausen* and *Davidson* are not decided. (2) The Epistle is doubted or rejected by *Calvin, Grotius, Cajetan, J. J. Scaliger, Salmasius, Erasmus, Semler, Schmidt, Welcker, Eichhorn, Credner, Neander, Mayerhoff, Neudecker, De Wette, Reuss, Schwegler*, and others. (3) *Mayerhoff* thinks it was written by a Jewish Christian of the second century. (4) *Bertholdt* thinks the second chapter an interpolation. (5) *Lange* thinks that a portion of the Epistle of Jude was inserted in this Epistle, originally as a gloss, confirmatory of the text. (6) *Hilman* ascribes only chapter i. to Peter. (7) *Bunsen* thinks that the first eleven verses of the first chapter, and the doxology at the end of the third chapter, are an Epistle written before the first Epistle. (8) *Grotius* thinks it was written by Simon, or Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, who had himself seen the Lord, and that it was afterwards ascribed to the Apostle. (9) *Bleek* thinks it was written by a good Christian, but not by the Apostle.

11. The Epistle was written probably in the last year of Peter's life; those who relegate it to the second century "forget that the intellectual strength which characterises this Epistle is not found elsewhere in the second century; that the appearance of the seducers, against whom this Epistle is directed, coincides, according to the notices found in the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, and in the Revelation of St. John, with the very period to which the Epistle introduces us."¹

¹ Lange, imp. 8vo, p. 8.

First
Epistle of
John.

12. THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF JOHN was undoubtedly written by the author of the Gospel. Its style, matter, and the numerous passages which are parallelisms, show this. (1) *Hug*, *Grotius*, and *Eberard* think it was written from *Patmos*. (2) *Macknight* from some city in *Judæa*, while *Mill*, *Bengel*, *Wetstein*, *Matthæi*, and *Davidson* think it was written at *Ephesus*. (3) Some, as *Davidson*, think it was written *after* the Gospel. (4) Others, as *Huther*, *Reuss*, and *Thiersch* before the Gospel. (5) While *Tregelles* wisely thinks it impossible to decide.

13. The date of the Epistle is variously estimated from 68 A.D. to the end of the first century. (1) *Giesler*, *Hammond*, *Whitby*, *Michaelis*, *Macknight*, and *Horne*, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *i.e.* before A.D. 70, so also *Benson*, *Hales*, and *Tomline*. (2) *Lampe* thinks after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, but before the exile of *John* to *Patmos*. (3) *Lardner* fixes upon 80 A.D. (4) *Braune* about 90 A.D.; *Mill* and *Le Clerc* 91 A.D. (5) *Beausobre*, *Du Pin*, *L'Enfant*, and *Davidson* towards the end of the first century. The *Baur* (Tübingen) school place it in the second century.

14. To whom it was especially addressed is equally matter of discussion. (1) *To the Parthians*, according to some Greek and Latin MSS., and hence supported by *Augustine*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Bede*, and defended by *Estius*. (2) *To the Jewish Christians in Judæa and Galilee* by *Benson*. (3) *To the Church at Corinth* by *Lightfoot*, and more recently by an anonymous writer. (4) *To the Gentile Church* by *Davidson*. (5) *To Ephesus* by *Hug*. (6) *To the whole Church* by *Æcumenius*, *Lampe*, *Du Pin*, *Lardner*, *Michaelis*, and *Tomline*.

15. The object of the Epistle is also variously stated. (1) *Anti-Jewish* by *Semler* and *Loeffler*. (2) *To Jewish Christians who had apostatised to Judaism* by *Lange*,

Eichhorn, and *Hänlein*. (3) *Against the Sabians* (disciples of John the Baptist) by *Barker*, *Storr*, and *Keim*. (4) *Against the Gnostics* by *Klenker*. (5) *Against Cerinthians, Gnostics, and Magi*, by *Michaelis*. (6) *A peculiar kind of Gnosticism*, which was allied to a Parsee-Magi-Dualism, by *Paulus*. (7) *A Didactical Treatise on Christianity*, both devotional and practical, *Bishop Horsley*. (8) *Against the early Docetæ*, who denied the humanity of Christ, by *Tertullian*, *Dionysius*, *Alexander*, *Credner*, *Scott*, *Lucke*, *De Wette*, *Schleiermacher*, *Neander*, *Hilgenfeld*, *Reuss*, *Huther*, and *Davidson*.¹

16. The external evidence is indisputable. There are references to this Epistle in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Papias*, *Irenæus*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*—also the heretic *Carpocrates*. It is included in the *Syrian Peshito*. The internal evidence is conclusive, and points out the Apostle John, the writer of the Gospel, as the author of this Epistle.

17. Two interpolations. (1) The *first*, chapter ii., latter half of the twenty-third verse, is not found in the *Textus Receptus*, and is printed in *italics* in our English version, is now acknowledged as genuine by *Griesbach*, *Lachmann*, *Tischendorff*, *Schultz*, and most critics. (2) The *second*, the verses on the heavenly witnesses, chapter v. 7, 8, are generally believed to be an interpolation, though the controversy has not yet quite died out.

18. In modern times, *Joseph Scaliger* first asserted that this Epistle was not the work of the Apostle John; later, *S. G. Lange* thought it not worthy of the Apostle. *Bretschneider* also attacked it as not genuine, on account of the Logos and anti-Docetic doctrine, but afterwards retracted. *Claudius* thought it the fabrication of a Jewish Christian. Then follow *Horst* and *Paulus*, who

¹ "Introduction to New Testament," Vol. III. p. 24.

added nothing material beyond what had been already advanced; and lastly, the *Tübingen school of Baur*. *Baur* (1848) called it a weak imitation of the Gospel, and ascribed it to a Montanist origin. *Hilgenfeld*, of the same school, regarded it as a splendid type of the Gospel, but too material in its views of the Divine Nature as *light*, which implies relation to space. *Zeller*, in reply to *Köstlin*, considers that the Epistle and Gospel are by different authors, and that the Logos and anti-Docetic doctrines delegate it to the second century, with other minor objections. Such, to use the words of *Dr. Davidson*,¹ are "the flimsy arguments which hyper-criticism is not ashamed to adduce." The doctrine of the Logos, as taught by John, and the germ of the essence of the Docetæ, were not first known in the second century.

The
disputed
passage
chap. v.
7, 8.

19. We may just notice the fact of the controversy respecting the genuineness of the passage chap. v. verses 7, 8 (the three heavenly witnesses). All external evidence is against their being part of the original text. They are most probably an ancient gloss placed in the margin, which crept, through a careless copyist, into some MSS. As such, though spurious, it is a proof of the doctrinal views of the early Church, which rest upon a large number of texts the genuineness of which has never been disputed, as well as upon the whole teaching of the New Testament.

Second
and Third
Epistles
of John.

20. *The Second and Third Epistles of John* are distinguished from the first by their being addressed not to a Church, but to individuals, and also by their brevity. The writer calls himself *the Elder* (not the Apostle). This might have arisen from the Apostle's humility, but it has led to a general impression, both in the primitive

¹ "Introduction to New Testament," Vol. III. p. 456.

Church as well as in our day, by several eminent critics, of the orthodox as well as of the Rationalistic school, that the Epistles second and third are most probably to be ascribed to *John the Presbyter*. The fact of these Epistles being written to private individuals caused them to be kept in private hands, and not to be delivered to the Church until years had passed away, and the difficulty of ascertaining their authorship thereby increased.

21. The external testimonies are references to the second Epistle in *Irenæus*. *Origen* mentions the three Epistles, so also *Eusebius* and *Jerome*, but accompanied by a statement that they were doubted by many. *Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria*, and *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Athanasius*, *Cyril*, and *Epiphanius*, received them as John's. In the *Muratorian Canon* two Epistles of *John* are mentioned. *Aurelius, Bishop of Chollabi*, quoted the second Epistle in the Council of Carthage, 256 A.D. *Clement of Alexandria* speaks of the first Epistle as the larger, implying the existence of at least another Epistle.

22. Modern opponents of the genuineness of these Epistles as the production of John the Apostle are *Grotius*, *Erasmus*, *Beck*, *Fritzsche*, *Bretschneider*, *Paulus*, *Credner*, *Jackmann*, *Schleiermacher*, and the Tübingen critics. *Baur* thinks the second Epistle was addressed to the Montanistic party in the Church of Rome; and again, that it was addressed to the church to which Caius belonged. *Hilgenfeld* regards the second Epistle as an excommunicatory writing repudiating false teachers (Gnostics); and the *third* as emanating from the church of John for the purpose of vindicating their right to issue such epistles of commendation, in opposition to the Jewish Christians, who thought this

to be the sole prerogative of James, their head ! Other objections have been made to the reference to the doctrine of the *Logos*, and of the *Docetæ*, as implying a date of the second century, as if these doctrines had not been matter of discussion in the Apostolic days. *Eberard* conceives the writer to be *John the Presbyter*.

Epistle
of Jude.

23. THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JUDE. The writer is Judas, the brother of James (Luke vi. 16), which, perhaps, would be more correctly understood to be the son of James. If so, he cannot be identified with Jude the Apostle, called also *Lebbæus* and *Thaddæus*, neither does he seem to identify himself with the Apostles (verse 17). The Apostleship of the writer is not clear ; *Clement of Alexandria*, *Arnaud*, *Bengel*, *Hug*, *Jessieu*, *Olshausen*, and *Tregelles* ascribe it to Judas, the Lord's brother, *not* the Apostle.

24. The external testimony is to be found in allusions in the Muratorian Canon, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, *Origen*, and *Jerome* ; but these are not decisive as to their full conviction of its canonicity. *Eusebius* mentions the doubts as to its genuineness common among many in his day. Since it appeared in the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, A.D. 363, it has been generally admitted by the Christian Churches. Since the Reformation, doubts as to its canonicity have been expressed by *Grotius*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Bergen*, *Bolten*, *Dahl*, the *Magdeburg Centuriators*, and *Michaelis*.

25. The Epistle contains a quotation from an Apocryphal writing, *Enoch*, and has a large portion of its contents almost identical with the second Epistle of Peter. These circumstances have stood in the way of its general reception by the Church, and are not even now fully overcome. It was probably written before the second Epistle of Peter, and in Palestine.

26. THE REVELATION OF JOHN, called also the APOCALYPSE, is, in the opinion of J. P. Lange, "one of the most strongly authenticated of the books of the Bible ; authenticated by its superscription, its historical statements (chapter i. 9), and the historical evidences accompanying it."¹ *It claims to be written by one John*, evidently the beloved Apostle. (1) *It is referred to as such by* Hermas, Papias, Melito, Theophilus of Antioch, Apollonius, Irenæus, the letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, Justin Martyr, the Canon of Muratori, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Jerome, Victorinus, Methodius, Ephrem-Syrus, Epiphanius, Basil, Hilary, Athanasius, Gregory, Didymus, Ambrose, and Augustine ; in modern times by Flacius, Twells, C. F. Schmidt, J. F. Reuss, Knittel, Storr, Süderwald, Harting, Klenker, Herder, Donker-Curtius, Hänlein, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Hug, Feilmoser, Kolthoff, Olshausen, J. P. Lange, Dannemann, Haver-nick, Guericke, Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Bunsen, Wood-house, Elliott, and most English commentators. The Tübingen school attribute it to the Apostle, as necessary to their theory of the non-Apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel. (2) *It has been denied or doubted to be* the work of the Apostle by the Alogi (Antinomians), who place the work to the heretic Cerinthus! Caius of Rome agreeing with them. Dionysius of Alexandria thought the work might be by John the Presbyter ; he, with Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzenus, and most of the Greek Churches, being to some degree influenced by their anti-millennian views. In more recent times the following, though differing on many points, and influenced by very different reasons, agree in doubting the Apostolical genuineness of this book.

¹ Lange's "Apocalypse," imp. 8vo, p. 1.

Luther, Zwingli, Carlstadt, Erasmus, Older, Semler, Stroth, Merkel, Corrodi, Cludius, Michaelis, Hemriche, Bretschneider, Bleek, Ewald, Schott, Lucke, Credner, Neudecker, Reuss, Hitzig, Schleiermacher, Tinius, and De Wette. (3) *It has been ascribed to John the Presbyter by Dionysius of Alexandria, Bleek, Credner, and Jachmann.* (4) *To John the divine* (but not John the Apostle or Presbyter) by Ballenstadt. (5) *To John Mark* by Rittig; this was first proposed by Beza.

27. The time when written depends upon the period of John's banishment to Patmos. (1) *That the exile there was in the time of Domitian*, and that the date is probably A.D. 97—95—96, is the opinion of Du Pin, Basnage, Turretin, Spanheim, Le Clerc, Mill, Whitby, Lange, Lardner, Tomline, Burton, Woodhouse, Elliott, Eberard, Hofmann, Thiersch, Hengstenberg, and also by the Fathers Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Victorinus, Origen, Eusebius, and Orosius. (2) *The period of the exile to Patmos is placed in the time of Claudius*, by Epiphanius; (3) but in the time of Nero, A.D. 65—69, by Sir J. Newton, Stuart, Elliott, Guericke, Stock, Tilloch, and by the earlier writers, Epiphanius and Theophylact.

NOTE.

The *four* passages which are supposed to have been corrupted by the Jewish teachers (to which reference is made in page 25) are as follows:—

I. DEUTERONOMY, chapter xxvii. 4. "*Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye may set up these stones, which I command you this day in Mount Ebal.*"

The Samaritan Pentateuch and version here read *Gerizim*, and charge the Jews with having corrupted the text. The Septuagint and the ancient versions follow the Hebrew, but Kennicott, Geddes, and others, support the Samaritan reading.

II. PSALM xvi. 10. "*Neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption.*" The reading of the Hebrew is contested whether *Holy ones* or *Holy One*. St. Peter, in Acts ii. 27, 31, xiii. 35, obviously adopts the reading which is followed in our version, which has the support of all the ancient versions and most of the MSS.

III. PSALM xxii. 16. "*They pierced My hands and My feet.*" Our translators have followed the *Ketib*, or marginal reading, "*they pierced,*" instead of the *Keri*, or textual reading, "*as a lion.*" In support of both readings there are both MSS. and eminent critics (A. Clarke and others).

IV. ZECHARIAH, chapter xii. 10. "*They shall look upon Me whom they have pierced.*" In St. John's Gospel, chapter xix. 37, it is quoted, "*They shall look on Him whom they pierced,*" which is the reading advocated by many critics on the authority of sundry MSS. The change in the reading is of no importance. In the one case the Prophet speaks *in the name of the Messiah*, in the other case the Evangelist is speaking *of Him*.

In all these cases there is no foundation for any charge of falsifying the text; they are simply instances of various readings in the MSS.

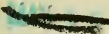

ERRATA.

Page 15, line 10, "(a)" *should be* "(d)."

- " 39, " 19, "remarkable" *should be* "remarkably."
- " 78, " the last, "Renchlinus" *should be* "Reuchlinus."
- " 199 " 21, "Chaldee" *should be* "Chaldæan."
- " 307, " 13, "Erastes" *should be* "Erastus."
- " " 15, "iv. 23" *should be* "iv. 22, 23."
- " 308, " 29, "definition" *should be* "deposition."
- " 321, " 27, "school of" *should be* "author of."
- " 325, note, bottom of the page, "D., p. 523" *should be* "D., p. 531."
- " 326, note, bottom of the page, "II., p. 532" *should be* "II., p. 582."
- " " line 9, "Evangelist books" *should be* "Evangelical books."
- " 351, " the last, "removes" *should be* "reminds."
- " 365, side index, "Final Theory" *should be* "Fourth Theory."
- " 368, line 22, "countryman" *should be* "countrymen."
- " 396, " 14, *insert* "with the exception" *between* "style" and "especially."
- " 401, " 8, "deliverance" *should be* "deliverances."
- " 415, " 9, "word of Justin" *should be* "words of Justin."
- " 418, " 11, "iii. 24" *should be* "iii. 23, 24."
- " 427, " 23, "Acts xi. 12" *should be* "Acts xi., xii."
- " 443, " 15, "Herman" *should be* "Hermas."

There may be others, but none but which the context itself will help to correct.

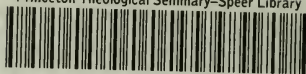
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